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No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 269.—JULY 1912.

Art. I.—WAR IN TWO ASPECTS.

I.

THE ETHICS OF WAR

WITH the exception of Religion itself, war is perhaps the most fascinating subject that can occupy the human mind. The spectacle of organised warfare is, in the first place, a daring challenge to that instinct of self-preservation which is said to be the first law of nature. It is also a challenge to that divine law which says to us in a hundred languages, "Thou shalt not kill."

Yet in defiance of the first law we find that in every so-called civilised country there exist enormous numbers of men who are paid, trained, armed and kept for years in unproductive idleness in order that, should Government see fit to order them out, they may kill or maim as many of the people they are sent against as possible and of course run more or less risk of being killed or maimed themselves. In defiance of the second law we find that every army has its corps of priests or ministers of religion, who not merely administer spiritual consolation to the wounded and dying, but also stimulate their men to fight by blessing regimental colours and by direct appeals to the God of battles. Here are surely two of the most staggering contradictions in that most contradictory and puzzling entity—human nature ! How

difficult it is for even the greatest minds to think clearly and consistently on this subject is illustrated by Carlyle's masterly description of a modern battlefield in "Sartor Resartus" :—

What (says Teufelsdröckh, the hero of Carlyle's immortal phantasy) speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "natural enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men : Dumdrudge at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them : she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build and the weakest can stand under 30 stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected ; all dressed in red ; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the South of Spain ; and fed there till wanted. And now, to the same spot in the South of Spain, are thirty similar French artizans from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending : till at length, after infinite efforts, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition ; and thirty stands fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire" is given ; and they blow the souls out of one another ; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel ? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest. They lived far enough apart ; were the entirest strangers ; nay, in so wide a universe, there was, even unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then ? Simpleton ! Their governors had fallen out, and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.

It would be difficult to imagine a more scathing exposure of the cruelty and injustice of such a war as

Carlyle describes. The case seems complete. The justice of the indictment cannot be questioned. We turn from the passage and wonder where the militarist can hide his diminished head. But Carlyle has also written one of the most graphic historical biographies in our literature ; the Life of Frederick the Great, one of the foremost soldiers of all time. In this great work, Carlyle devotes more attention to the Seven Years' War than to all the rest of Frederick's long life put together. Nor, in discussing his campaigns and battles does the biographer show the slightest sign of the horror and repulsion with which they ought to inspire him, judging from the extract above. Even Carlyle, therefore, found it difficult to reconcile his views on war. Small wonder if those of us who are gifted with less piercing insight into the essence of things find ourselves confused when we survey the shifting values of these great moral and physical laws as applied to mankind in its corporate capacity. I challenge any right-minded man to consider the physical and economic aspect of war—the anguish, the sickness and the mortality which it brings to thousands of picked men, the privation and bereavement which it spells for hundreds of thousands of women and children, the destruction of cities, homes, crops and goods which it involves, the paralysis which it inflicts over a large area upon all normal and healthy activities, the evil passions which it arouses—without being possessed with a great and holy indignation that men should be so wanton and so wicked as to do these things. On the other hand reflection and experience bring home to us that physical and economic evils are not the only evils, or even the greatest that can assail the individual and the community. Is there in history or literature a nobler or more inspiring subject than that of a people

rightly struggling to be free? Is there a more contemptible object than that of a nation which has been enervated by peace and prosperity, and which tamely submits to the first conquering Vandal who comes along? So long as man and nature remain as they are, so long will the strong wage war upon the weak, and will, morally and physically, or economically enslave them. Which is the worse fate—Slavery or Death?

Every race—aye and every individual—has sooner or later to face this question, and its corollary “You must either suffer the one, or risk the other.” So long as there is oppression there must be War.

The righteous indignation which we naturally feel as we think of the horrors of war must therefore be concentrated upon the aggressive belligerent. Yet even him we shall often find it difficult to condemn in cold blood. The aggressor is not always impelled by mere lust of conquest. More often than not he is driven to attack his neighbours by overwhelming economic or strategic necessity. The Goths who poured over the decaying outworks of the Roman Empire were themselves being forced out of Northern and Eastern Europe by the advance of the Huns from Central Asia. In modern times wars are waged to open new markets or to obtain an entrance to old ones. Many struggles, it is true, have been precipitated by the wanton vanity of kings and their mistresses. Carlyle says, for instance, with pardonable exaggeration, that the Seven Years' War took place in order that Madame du Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV, might revenge herself for an epigram. The very last—and in the universal opinion most ignominious—war in which Great Britain became involved, was engineered in a spirit of almost incredible levity by a few Jews in South

Africa and a handful of jobbers on the London Stock Exchange. But these wanton enterprises may on the whole be described as exceptional. Most wars, on analysis, will be found to have arisen from irresistible cosmic processes, which, under existing moral and social conditions, are almost as actively operative to-day as they have ever been.

Looked at from this point of view what is war but a phase of the pitiless struggle for existence that is going on in every part of the globe? When all is said and done I doubt whether it is in fact the most pitiless phase of that struggle. One of the loudest living apostles of peace is the multi-millionaire Andrew Carnegie—whose hobby is to scatter free libraries over the civilized world—than whom no one has played a more ruthless part in what Kipling calls "the savage wars of Peace."

According to a report recently issued by the Commissioner of Labour in the United States of America, 50,000 persons employed in the steel industry work twelve hours a day for seven days a week and some work eighteen hours a day while there is a steady tendency for wages to go down. That is the industry which has made Mr. Carnegie a millionaire, and from which he still draws the bulk of his prodigious revenues. He is responsible more than most men for the miserable lot of these steel workers.

So that the man who denounces war so fiercely because it brings misery and destruction in its train has himself been the cause of as much misery and suffering as a dozen campaigns. Nay more, Mr. Carnegie has no objection to the employment of armed force when the enemy against whom it is employed are his own workpeople. About twenty years ago there was a strike

in Pittsburg, the steel metropolis in which so many thousand men and women now toil from 12 to 18 hours a day in order that Mr. Carnegie may live in 'luxury. The strike was induced by those very conditions of hard work and low pay which stand revealed in the report of the Commissioner of Labour. Did Mr. Carnegie on that occasion approach his workmen and suggest that the differences between them should be referred to arbitration? Not he. He called on the Government for troops and shot down his toilers by the hundred. It will take a great many free libraries and other benefactions to wipe out the memory of that ruthless massacre. And more than one prominent advocate of the great cause of international disarmament has had almost as ugly an industrial record as Mr. Carnegie.

Let us compare for a moment the ethics of international with those of industrial warfare. The man who fights for his country is at least fighting for an ideal which he feels to be greater and holier than himself. He denies himself, he lives a hard and dangerous life, he learns the virtues of comradeship and obedience. In the last great issue he lays down his life—not for himself, but for his ideal. Is such a man to be pitied? I say no—not nearly so much as the man who, after dragging out a wretched existence as a steel-worker, without any high ideal to sustain and uplift him, perishes in the agony of starvation, or from one or other of the frightful diseases which dog the footsteps of modern civilisation. As Macaulay says in his famous lines—

To every man upon this earth
 Death cometh soon or late.
 And how can man die better
 Than facing fearful odds
 For the ashes of his fathers
 And the temples of his gods?

Life itself, under existing conditions, is and must be a war, in which all of us must sooner or later be forced into the firing line. We cannot avoid it, but we can do far better. We can fight in the spirit of the patriot soldier, who lays down his life in order that his country may be the gainer. So those of us whose fighting has to be done, not "in the field of proud honour," but in the office or the workshop or in some professional career, can do it in such a manner that it shall not have been done in vain.

But let us come back to our subject—the ethics of bloody campaigns and smitten fields. I said that these were inevitable so long as human nature and the conditions of economic and national survival remain as they are. But those of us who discern through the field glasses of Christianity "that far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves" do not subscribe to the pessimistic view that we are doomed for ever to a state of things in which we must either kill or be killed. We see the slow but irresistible spread of the idea of the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the race. We observe the growing distaste for war which is manifest in every civilised community, so that the chief of one of the greatest military nations, the German Emperor, is said to have a greater horror of war than any other living man. We note that even the fiendish inventions, ensuring an ever larger and speedier destruction of human life, which the mechanical genius of the age is perpetually putting on the market, tend to make war more and more ghastly, and therefore more and more repugnant to the civilized man. We find the humanitarian tendencies of the age asserting themselves in the direction of prohibiting explosive bullets, of sending out volunteer nurses and ambulance corps to the front, and

of other measures to mitigate the sufferings of the combatants. Above all, we note the march of nobler conceptions of man's duty to man. Many ages must doubtless elapse before

"The war drums throb no longer, and the battle flags are furled
In the Parliament of men, the federation of the world ;"

but even since these inspired words were written, the signs of the times have become so plain as to be obvious to all. The cause of universal peace has still many vicissitudes to undergo. Many a sanguinary battle remains to be added to the list of international duels. Torrents of blood and tears and treasure must yet flow from nations and individuals. But though we may not live to see the end of war, we shall at least die in the triumphant assurance that the end, however distant, is actually in sight. And in the meantime we can endeavour to invest the sordid tragedy of war with a high ethical purpose. Any war in which we engage must be purely defensive, so far as we are concerned ; but "being in," as old Polonius says to Laertes

"Bear it that the opposed may beware of thee !"

II.

THE BUSINESS OF WAR.

Discussing war theoretically I have endeavoured to show that there is a good deal to be said for it. Discussing it practically, it seems to me that there is a good deal more to be said against it. I want now to consider war as it would affect you and me and several hundred million other people if it should break out between any two countries in which we are personally interested. I have called it the "Business of War," because we should very soon find, once it broke out, that it was not in

the least romantic and glorious, but that it had a very hard, and practical, not to say sordid, side.

I have expressed the opinion that so long as human nature remains as it is to-day so long will there be war, because in most cases human nature prompts the strong to attack the weak, and then the weak are forced to defend themselves as best they can. Therefore, until human nature is altered—that is to say until the spirit of Christ takes possession of the great mass of mankind—it is hopeless to expect a state of things in which the golden rule will be the guiding principle of men and nations. To quote the words of the Founder of Christianity “It must be that offences come, but woe unto the man by whom they come.” Applying this principle to national affairs we may say “Wars are bound to come under present conditions but woe unto the nation through whom they come”—that is the nation which is responsible for them. As a matter of fact wars are like other quarrels—it takes two sides to bring them about. Very few wars are undertaken in a spirit of mere caprice. When two nations go to war after a longer or a shorter diplomatic wrangle, it is always easy to put one’s finger upon a particular interview, or letter, or speech which has proved a turning point in the negotiations. Perhaps the most striking instance of the deliberate forcing of a crisis was the famous telegram sent by Bismarck to the French Press with reference to the interview at Ems between the King of Prussia and the French Ambassador in 1870. The facts are now admitted to have been a masterstroke of policy on the part of the German Chancellor, a triumph which did greater honour to his head than his heart. You will doubtless remember that at the Ems interview the King of Prussia and the French Ambassador discussed the vexed question of the

Spanish succession. They did not discuss it exactly in a cordial manner, but they certainly did not discuss it in an angry manner; and they separated intending to resume the discussion at some other time. But Bismarck was determined to have war. He knew that Germany was ready, and that France was not. He saw that it was a case of now or never. Therefore he caused a telegram to be sent to the French papers stating that the King of Prussia had treated the French Ambassador with the utmost haughtiness, and had finally turned his back on him. Perhaps that does not sound so very terrible to us, but to the excited French people it had the effect of a red rag on a bull, precisely the effect Bismarck intended it to have. Paris rang with cries of "à Berlin!" and a weak and tottering dynasty was pushed over into the abyss. Thereafter everything happened just as Bismarck wished and foresaw. The French were routed in every battle and were finally shut up in Paris, where an irresolute and unrepresentative Government allowed itself to be starved and wheedled into surrender. There was just one thing Bismarck did not foresee—and it troubled him a good deal during those five weary months he sat cooling his heels at Versailles. That was the practical impossibility of beating the French people. The great strategist Von Moltke and his lieutenants easily outgeneralled the lazy and incompetent heads of the French Army. The equally great diplomatist Bismarck found it equally easy to browbeat and cajole the dispirited politicians who called themselves the French Government. But the French people—pray note this, for it bears specially upon what I shall have to say about the business of war—the French people were never beaten in 1870. After their regular armies had been blown to bits at Sedan,

had been captured at Metz, or imprisoned within the defences of Paris, an enormous army was collected by Gambetta which threatened the German communications with the Fatherland. And all this time the francs-tireurs were carrying on their guerilla warfare, cutting off German stragglers and getting on the nerves of the survivors, while German trade was going to wrack and ruin, and the Germans got so utterly sick of the whole business that if the French provisional government hadn't chosen that time to surrender, the Germans would almost have been glad to pay them a handsome sum to allow them to get out of the country. Of course, the moment the French expressed a desire to discuss terms for the surrender of Paris the German terms went up, and an indemnity of two hundred millions sterling was screwed out of France. But it is the biggest mistake in the world to suppose that the war of 1870 was a struggle between the German nation and the French nation,* and that the French nation was beaten. The real facts are that the corrupt and despotic Court of France, which was served inevitably by a poor and inefficient army, was beaten by the superior combination, skill and patriotism of the Prussian armies and their allies. But the French nation was never beaten—and that is a point of the first importance in discussing the various possibilities of war. For what does it involve? It means that, even when two peoples are contiguous, like France and Germany, it is practically impossible for either of them to bring the other to its knees.

Supposing, for the sake of the argument, that the two great and friendly Powers of England and Germany should go to war with each other, what would be the most probable result? Some thoughtless persons talk

as though it would be a simple beating for one side or the other—either Great Britain would beat Germany or Germany would beat Great Britain in the first battle or two, and there would be an end of it. As a matter of fact that would only be the beginning. Supposing that the German fleet vanquished the British navy, and landed a big army upon our shores, do you imagine that the Germans would find it any easier to subdue the British than they found it to subdue the French 42 years ago? Remember that in France they were next door to their own country, and had an absolutely unbroken line of communications, whereas in England they would be divided from their base by several hundred miles of rough and dangerous seas, and could never feel safe about their communications. If then the threatening of their communications worried the Germans so much even in France, how much more would it worry them in England?

And in the same way, supposing the British Fleet inflicted one defeat, or a series of defeats upon the German navy, is it conceivable that that would end the war, or force the Germans to sue for peace, or agree to pay us an indemnity such as the French agreed to in 1871? Of course not. Our military strength is not nearly sufficient for that. The largest force that we could send abroad under any imaginable circumstance, was recently stated to be 300,000 men—a mere handful compared to the four millions which compose the German army on a war footing. It would be still more difficult for us to force Germany to her knees than it would be for Germany to bring us to terms. A war between Britain and Germany, so far as I can see, would simply end in stalemate. It would go on, perhaps for years, until both the combatants were ruined.

As a matter of fact, a war between Great Britain and Germany would inflict the most grievous loss upon both, no matter how long or how short the struggle might be, and no matter which of them won. Let us figure this out on the basis of the available statistics of international trade.

Germany buys goods from us to the value of nearly 50 millions sterling every year, and she sells to us goods worth some 40 millions. What would happen to this trade if war broke out? Strictly speaking, it would, of course, close down at once. Direct trade between the two countries would become impossible; but there would probably be a good deal of indirect traffic through France and Holland. Still, even allowing for this, one might safely say that the volume of British-German trade would be diminished by not less than half—that is to say it would be less than 50 millions sterling, instead of nearly 100 millions. German trade with India—amounting in the aggregate to more than 25½ millions sterling per annum—would also be pretty nearly wiped out. Think of the distress and unemployment which this would mean to thousands in Great Britain, in India and in Germany. Another thing—when trade is lost it very seldom comes back. While Great Britain and Germany were fighting with each other, their trade and commerce would be snapped up by France, America and Japan.

But the longest war must come to an end. I think the most probable outcome of a British-German war would be that the two Powers would get sick of fighting, and would simply make peace when they had had enough of it. But one never knows what may happen, and it is just possible that in the event of a few bad defeats the British Government might get into a state of panic, very much as the French Government did in 1870, and make peace

on the terms of a big indemnity. Would Germany really score in such an event? I doubt it very much. In the first place a war with Great Britain would be so frightfully expensive that almost no indemnity she could enforce would really recoup her for it. But apart from this Great Britain is, as we have seen, a very big customer of Germany—one of Germany's biggest customers, in fact. Now I need hardly point out that if you want to retain a good customer, you are going quite the wrong way to work if you first of all knock him down, and then take all his money from him. The bigger the indemnity the Germans exacted from Great Britain the less able would Great Britain become to buy goods from Germany. So far as British-German trade was concerned, Germany would be killing the goose that laid the golden eggs.

I grant that the case was somewhat different in the Franco-German war. There the trade between the two countries was not anything like what it is between Great Britain and Germany. Consequently the huge indemnity which was wrested from France did not deprive Germany of a good customer, while it made her so flush of cash that her national and commercial activities were stimulated enormously. But that was nearly half a century ago. The world has moved rapidly since then, and the various nations have become so subtly inter-connected by social and commercial relationships that it would be impossible for one Power to be "bled white" by another Power without that Power being one of the first to feel the ill-effects of its own victory.

It seems strange to the man of sense, but the outbreak of war is almost invariably signalled by demonstrations of rejoicing. In the old days people

WAR IN TWO ASPECTS.

actually used to ring the church bells. You remember Walpole's bitter jest when a demonstration of this kind took place on England declaring war upon Prussia. "They ring their bells now, but soon they will wring their hands." Some of us can remember the light hearted gaiety with which Great Britain went into the struggle with the Boers, and how the London stock-brokers sent a telegram to President Kruger—"For what you are about to receive may the Lord make you truly thankful." I suppose the average Englishman loves the spectacle of a fight, especially when he has not personally to bear the brunt of it, and the general public is as excited at the prospect of a war as the queue outside the pit door is for the play to begin. Never mind about paying for it—that will come afterwards!

But as time goes on, and the novelty of the struggle wears off, a very different mood steals over the public mind. There is nothing in the world, I suppose, so depressing or so maddening as a long drawn out war, such as the South African War, for example, or the American Civil War. Men begin to feel how wearing and ruinous it is, and grow impatient to see an end of this wasteful expenditure of life and money, and this cruel disturbance of trade. But it is also borne in upon them—and this is an excellent thing too—that it is easier to plunge into war than to get out of it. As regards South Africa we were a good deal luckier than the French in 1870. We only lost 200 millions sterling and 20,000 lives, while they lost at least as much money and thirty times as many lives, in addition to suffering invasion, humiliation, and a fine of 200 millions more. Broadly speaking, however, our experience and theirs were very similar. We both

plunged rashly into a foolish and disastrous war, and the result has been to make us both chary about going to war, ever since. This impatience over a lingering and indecisive struggle was exemplified in a semi-patetic manner by Mr. Chamberlain in a speech which he delivered after the Boer war had been in progress for about a year. "Now that the war is over"—he said. Alas! it was not over for another year and a half. The South African war also illustrates another aspect of these great international struggles; for it was that which eventually drove the Unionists from power and subjected them to the greatest electoral defeat ever known. There is one thing that stands out above all others in English history, and that is that a war is always fatal to the Government which is responsible for it,—whether it is in the right or the wrong doesn't matter. The British elector may like to see a fight, but he sternly exacts a forfeit from the Government which is so ill-advised as to gratify this taste of his. Ever since the passing of the great Reform Bill the British electors have shown themselves increasingly resentful of any policy which leads to war.

I have endeavoured to show that war is a business which, nowadays, can only have one ending—the international bankruptcy court for both the parties engaging in it. And not merely this, but its effects are felt to the remotest corners of the earth, and those effects are seldom or never anything but disastrous. It behoves us then, as Christians and citizens to set our faces against war as resolutely as in us lies. As I have said, it would be Utopian to hope that war can be eliminated while human society is constituted as it is. I do not urge that we should never fight under any circumstances. But without dwelling upon the

innumerable moral and humanitarian objections which may be raised against it, it is emphatically such bad business, even under the most favourable conditions, that we are surely bound to avoid it by every possible means. It must indeed be a frightful alternative which should drive us into the arms of war.

A. J. FRASER BLAIR.

Art. II.—THE SPEECH OF AMERICANS.

RARE BEN JONSON said that language most shows a man ; and, indeed, speech reveals so much that it is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that the soul of a people, the quality of their deepest life, the secret of their spiritual state, is discovered by the new meanings that old words have gained, and the old meanings that they have lost, and even in the modifications in pronunciation of them that have taken place.

I do not profess to speak with any authority upon the vexed question of the relative merits or demerits of the speech of the two great nations which have English as their mother tongue. To be in a position to judge impartially and adequately, it would be necessary to have been born and educated in both countries and to have mingled freely with all classes of society, in every English county and in every American state. This initial impossibility accounts, in great measure, for the grave and often ludicrous errors into which all have fallen, even those learned in philological science, who have attempted the task. What hope, then, is there for an unlearned Scot who was at school in England and has spent many years furth of all lands in which English is the common tongue, hearing and perforce speaking other languages than his own ? Yet, to one poor negative qualification, I may dare to lay claim. By virtue of long residence abroad, my ear has not become dull to the peculiarities in speech of either, and quick only to those of the other, country. When, in an American school, a child is uncorrected for saying "he done it," my

ear is certainly offended ; but not more than when, in an English school, there is no challenge of " he had got," in which no less than in the American phrase, preterite and past participle are confused. And if, in common with most Englishmen, I foolishly resent the American constant use of the word " sick " in the sense of Shakespeare and the liturgy of the English Church, I resent equally, and with equal folly, in common with all Americans, the English occasional use of the word " stink " in the direct fashion of the Gospel according to St. John. This is my infirmity ; and I have learned in suffering what, in these paragraphs, I seek to express in prose.

In neither England nor America is the mother tongue as well spoken as in either Germany or France. The minutiae of the complicated grammar of their respective languages is and must be carefully drilled into French and German children in the schools ; and between those who have, and those who lack, the mastery of these languages, speech makes a gulf which is necessarily greater and more fixed than that which separates educated from uneducated among a people whose language, like the English, has few grammatical changes. Absolute accuracy of speech is rare, in both England and America, by reason of the very ease with which relative correctness may be gained in the English tongue ; and to English and Americans alike, in the matter of speech, as in many other matters, one has constantly to say : " Who art thou that despisest thy brother ? "

Many Americans have assiduously taught me, in correct English phrasing, the nice shades of meaning of American slang which, as it appeared to me, is different from, more expressive, and not more vulgar

than English slang ; and such of it as is unstained by vulgarity or unweakened by foolish extravagance of idea or phrase, although, unfortunately, not such alone, is gradually making a place for itself in the speech of Americans and Englishmen, to the enlargement, if not the enrichment, of our common language. Against the evils of this process, the increase and diffusion of education is the only defence. The court of final appeal upon language, in every country, is all the speaking-people of the country ; and they, by their own usage, enforce their own decrees which may be modified, but are never wholly determined, by the presumptive authority vested in precedent or in the rules and standards which purists provide in a conscious effort towards the logical precision and symmetrical completeness which no language has ever attained. Language is a living organism ; and as the specific experience of those by whom it is used grows larger and more complex, it responds to meet the exigencies of this expansion, yielding new terms, or new shades of meaning to old terms ; and, therefore, only by common education, giving fineness of feeling, and an instinct of consideration, for the instrument of common communion, can its perpetual increase in strength and beauty be ensured. This is especially true of America. For there, the tendency is stronger than in England to consider the speech of any men, as any man himself, as good as any other ; and this application of a principle that is deemed democratic is pushed to an extreme by those, and they are many, who forget that in speech, as in art and morals and everything that man undertakes, the freedom and originality are spurious which cannot move along other than novel paths and which refuse to obey those simple outward laws which have

been sanctioned by the authority of the foremost men and the experience of mankind.

Yet as the level of popular education in America is, at least, not lower—I rank it higher—than in England, I was not surprised to find the average speech in America not less accurate or refined than in England, when I compared it not with the speech of the cultured section of English society, which is the misleading comparison that is ordinarily made, but with the average speech in England—the only just comparison. The American voice differs from, and to the undoubted advantage of, the English in inflection and pitch. In pronunciation, however, the American seemed to me to excel in distinctness and the Englishman in distinction; and this, perhaps, is what was meant by W. D. Howells when, in a reference to Harvard, he spoke of the “beauty of utterance which, above any other beauty, discriminates between us and the English,” and by Professor Jowett who said that in his lecture room at Oxford, he had seen pass before him “several generations of inarticulate speaking Englishmen.” The superior distinctness of the American is due, I suppose, to conscious efforts, as the superior distinction of the Englishman is due to habitual and unconscious ease, in conforming, each in his measure, to the standard which educated persons in both countries, even in America, accept.

Strenuous, and not unsuccessful, efforts are made in American day schools and night schools to counteract the pernicious effects of foreign influence upon the English speech. The number of new foreign words or phrases grafted on the language is remarkably small relatively to the number of foreign immigrants, whose influence is greatest upon pronunciation, especially of complex consonantal sounds; and such alterations in

speech as result from the fusion of the heterogeneous elements of the American population is not a deterioration of the language. The original substratum of Anglo-Saxon in our common language was overlaid with multitudes of conversational words from the French, of literary and ecclesiastical words from the Latin, and of technical words from the Greek, long before there was any America to have any speech; yet the mixture of Normandised, Gallicised Latin with a base of Anglo-Saxon gave us "Chaucer's well of English undefiled." And although now, the robust American people, especially in the Western States, too often seem to think that in order to be vigorous, they must be vulgar, in their speech, and there is to be found in all the states, on the one hand, a passion for coining new and unnecessary words and, on the other hand, a tendency to banish from use a number of the most useful and classical expressions by the poverty-stricken device of making one do duty for a host of others of somewhat similar meaning, yet, as successfully as in England, the corrosive and debasing influence that always act upon the substance and texture of a language are being resisted in America; and the vitality and freshness of Americans' speech, springing from the fulness of American life, is ample compensation for the anæmic refinement of speech in which Englishmen are apt to take pride. And every increase of popular education in America is a new guarantee of the security there of the English tongue.

ALEX. FRANCIS

ART. III.—FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE following among other points deserve special consideration in connection with the subject under enquiry. (1) The present position and the advisability of free and compulsory mass education. (2) The best means of introducing compulsion. (3) The constitution of the body who will govern the scheme. (4) The financial means by which free education could be spread.

(1) It is a matter of deep congratulation that the country is now in possession of a sound and practical scheme in the shape of a Bill introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council of India by the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.S.I., round which would cluster the *pros* and *cons* of a momentous problem. On its satisfactory solution depend the material and moral improvement of the country. Such being the case one fails to see why there should be any opposition at all to such a salutary measure. The situation in India presents a sad contrast with that of other countries. Taking the question of literacy, we find that Europe leads off with 98 per cent. Even backward Russia has 25 per cent., but India can show only a paltry 6 per cent. who can read and write. The school attendance is also proportionately small here. In America it is 21 per cent., Great Britain 20 per cent., Japan 11 per cent., in India only 1·9 per cent. The small and inadequate expenditure on education accounts for such poor results. While America spends 16*d.* per head, England 10 Japan 1—2, India spends only 1*d.* per head. Not to speak

of advanced European countries, India's backwardness is manifest on a comparison of her position of affairs with that of countries similarly situated like herself. Education has spread with marvellous strides in the Philippine Islands. One of the first things the Americans did was to make education entirely free and at her own cost and latterly compulsory. The Philipinos living under American administration for about 13 years have got 6 per cent. of them educated, whereas the Indians enjoying the benefits of the generous and benevolent British rule for a century and a half can only show a progress of 2 per cent. The same remarks are applicable to the people of Ceylon who cannot be regarded as superior to the Indians. Education there was compulsory at Government schools. But in accordance with the recommendation of a Commission of Enquiry appointed in 1905, the scope and extent of compulsory education was much enlarged. Some areas were selected in which the boys were to be freely and compulsorily educated for six years, the costs to be met out of the road cess and the management to be under District Committees. The latest official report shows that the experiment has been a success.

Coming nearer home the principality of Baroda shows a record of better results. His Highness the Maharaja, who is a thoroughly enlightened and liberal-minded prince, made education compulsory throughout the State after a tentative extension of it to small selected areas for short periods. Boys between 6 and 12 and girls between 6 and 10 years of age must attend. It is gratifying to notice that within a few years 79 per cent. of the boys of this age were at school as against 21 per cent. in British India. Whilst Baroda with its limited resources expends $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per head, India spends

only *Rs.* per head. In the light of the above-mentioned facts there cannot be two opinions on the question that Mr Gokhale's Bill, which is one of the most temperately worded documents ever seen and which is admirably adapted to the present condition in India, will supply a long-felt desideratum. He proposes to introduce compulsion only in areas where there is already 33 per cent. of attendance. He confines it to boys at present and limits the period of study to four years in lieu of six years prevalent elsewhere. The advisability of free and compulsory mass education cannot be disputed on any reasonable grounds. It is in the interests of the masses that they should be enabled by means of education to prevent them from being victims of the unscrupulous money-lending classes and the grasping agents of their landlords ; from being in the clutches of political fanatics who may try to seduce them from loyalty and allegiance to the powers that be by specious arguments and cunning misrepresentations intended to show that their miserable lot is the direct result of defective and bad foreign rule. This view is supported by Adam Smith, who said it was an advantage to the State that the people should be instructed in elementary education, for then they would be more disposed to examine and more capable of seeing through the interested complaints of faction and sedition. To such remedial advantages may be added others of a positive kind. Education will enable the masses to carry on agricultural and manufacturing industries on modern improved lines. On this subject the presidential speech of Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter (a distinguished Judge of the Calcutta High Court who since his retirement has been taking active and intelligent interest in a spirit of commendable sympathy and benevolence in all

questions regarding the elevation of the down-trodden and depressed classes) at the Albert Hall Meeting, which was a masterpiece of eloquence and erudition dealing with the momentous problem in all its bearings, may be usefully referred to. What would India be, he very properly asked, if the masses do not know how to increase the production of the soil, how to manufacture the articles which we urgently need in this country? They must not be left in darkness—in barbarism. The difference between the higher and lower classes should be minimised. We must be consolidated as a people for the social and economic good of the country. The only means by which we can achieve India's good is education. We have been trying to raise the depressed classes, and it is our duty to raise them. It is our duty to see that those who are untouchables are educated.

It should be noted that the character of the education proposed* for the masses will, in the fulness of time, be of a technical kind which will enable them to carry on their callings or crafts with better advantage. That is to say, they will be able to produce two blades of grass where only one grew before. Besides making a near approach to the level of thought prevailing in the higher orders of society they will be enabled by elementary education of the technical kind to improve their material condition. Mass education, therefore, may be viewed* as a nucleus of social reform and economic improvement. As education and moral worth and not mere accident of birth should be the standard of caste distinction, the spread of education though of an elementary character among the masses imbuing them gradually but surely with enlightened views will go a great way towards raising their status in society

and will protect them from the contemptuous treatment to which they are now subjected. It is not difficult to understand how true and honest Swadeshism will be promoted by technical education. The recipients of such education being able to produce country goods equal in price and quality to foreign imported ones and sufficient in quantity there will be more demand for and preference to the former. And this seems to be the natural and normal method of promoting indigenous industries which may be called harmless boycott

(2) The best means of introducing compulsion.

The common objections to compulsory education are that the time is not yet ripe for it, that the masses will lose rather than gain by it, that the heterogeneous character of the Indian society would make the trial a failure, that financial difficulty stands in the way of its successful introduction and so forth. The last objection will be dealt with under its separate head. The first one, *viz.*, that the time has not come, is untenable as no noble undertaking can be accomplished if we wait indefinitely for favourable time and tide. A thing fairly begun is half done. As with individuals so with nations, good opportunities and concurrence of favourable circumstances, unless availed of as they present themselves, are often lost. We must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures. We must strike the iron while it is hot. We must not let the grass grow under our feet. It should be remembered that under the civilising influence of British rule in India and the blessings of English education the indolent apathy and dormant inertness born of pernicious social customs and the crude doctrine of fatalism, have given place to a healthy awakening of national consciousness destined to achieve high ends. The culture and public spirit of

the educated classes are now directed to the attainment of such ends—India's political, moral and economic improvement. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils in India, both Imperial and Provincial, introducing a large independent non-official element into their constitution, the appointment of educated Indians as members of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and of the Local Governments and of the Secretary of State's India Council and the gradual opening to them of some high offices of the State are a just recognition of the ability and moral worth of our men of light and leading. Nor are the energies of such men confined to their self-aggrandisement but extended to the amelioration of the condition of their less enlightened brethren. The movement of social reform which has already made considerable progress is doing away with invidious caste distinctions, removing the absurd restrictions to a sea-voyage to foreign countries for the noble purposes of learning and commerce, teaching the people the dignity of labour and is proving useful in various other ways. The Swadeshi movement is a tangible expression of national activity directed towards fostering the growth and development of the local industries of India. The movement has done more for the poor and labouring than for the well-to-do classes. The weavers, for instance, who in sheer despair were driven to forsake their professional calling and became common labourers to earn a living, are now being financed and trained to resume it with a fair chance of success. Elementary education of a technical kind is urgently needed to better the condition of our agriculturists and artisans. India is purely an 'agricultural country, nearly 83 per cent. of her population being agricultural. When so large a proportion of the people are

engaged in husbandry, they will fare badly unless it undergoes considerable improvement. "No doubt the margin of cultivation," says Mr. T. N. Mukerji, "has rapidly expanded on all sides. Where formerly the roar of the tiger broke the stillness of the sleeping jungle, the busy hum can be heard of the multitude reaping the golden harvest. A more careful cultivation has also enabled valuable to take the place of less valuable crops" But our peasants are ignorant of agricultural science even of an elementary character. Their imperfect knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil, of the best means of manuring it, of the proper choice of seeds, and their inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects, prevent them from obtaining the best available outturn.

Side by side with agricultural improvement there should be development of the manufactures of the country. Sir William Hunter pointed out the necessity of using every means for improving Indian manufactures. "There is no use in disguising the fact," he said, "that India has to compete with other countries in her industries in a way which she has not done before. India has to compete with Australia for wheat, with China for tea, with California and other countries, and she will only be able to do this if she gives her children the same kind of education as the people of those places have; that lies at the root of all technical education. We wish that our agriculturists shall beat the agriculture of other countries; that our artisans in metals shall beat the artisans of other countries; that our employees in cotton mills shall beat those of other countries; and if you are to enable them to go so far, you must give them the education of those in the other countries, and I sincerely hope that the country will

take hold of this feeling." The plan proposed by the Famine Commissioners is as follows :—

"In treating of the improvement of agriculture we have indicated how we think the more scientific methods of Europe may be brought into practical operation in India by help of specially trained experts, and the same general system may, we believe, be applied with success both to the actual operations of agriculture and to the preparation for the market of the raw agricultural staples of the country. Nor does there appear any reason why action of this sort should stop short at agricultural produce, and should not be extended to the manufactures which India now produces on a small scale or in a rude form, and which with some improvement might be expected to find enlarged sales and could take the place of similar articles now imported from foreign countries."

But both the agricultural and manufacturing classes being extremely poor they can hardly afford to pay for their education. They are, again, not sufficiently intelligent to appreciate its blessings ; so free and compulsory education is the best and only means of satisfactorily solving the economic problem. There should not be any difference of opinion as to its necessity. It may be urged that the peasants will be deprived of the services of their adult children and dependants if they are compelled to undergo a course of education during working hours. This objection may be met by opening night schools for such students or allowing them a few hours' leave from the schools in harvest seasons. As provision to this effect has been made in the Bill, it ought to be passed with the unanimous consent of the official and the non-official members of the Council. If the provisions are not found

sufficient to meet such and other objections they may be amended accordingly. But no case so far has been made out nor are there valid grounds for dropping the Bill.

The heterogeneous character of the Indian society cannot be regarded as a serious stumbling-block in the way of introducing free and compulsory mass education. The narrow-minded and selfish desire hitherto felt of keeping the masses and the classes apart and at respectful distances, no longer finds expression either in the Press, the Platform or even in private conversation. The fate of the hierarchy of priesthood and the domineering and overbearing conduct of the aristocracy is destined to be, if it is not already, sealed. The gulf between the upper and the lower strata of society is going to be gradually bridged over. It is gratifying to notice that our educated countrymen are straining every nerve to remove social inequalities based not upon grounds of intellectual and moral worth but upon the absurd notion of and belief in the superiority of certain castes as such over others irrespective of the consideration whether they are worthy or not. Every right-thinking man will clearly see that caste status cannot be claimed as a divine gift as is erroneously supposed by some orthodox Hindus, but is simply a mark of distinction based upon occupation, learning and character. The grouping of society into classes is based upon division of labour. Such classification is artificial and not real, no calling or avocation as a means of honest livelihood should be condemned as ignoble; each one is a link in the great chain binding together the multifarious divisions of society. Instead of being the causes of insuperable barriers, these callings should be so many bonds of union among all classes in our society—a union of hearts, though not a union in respect of interdin-

and intermarriage with one another—a consummation of things considering the peculiar constitution of the Hindu society and religion, is not practicable at present. It is only when through the influence of education, they all attain a tolerably uniform standard of intellectual and moral excellence that perfect social equality is possible. What is demanded in the interests of civilisation and national advancement is that some classes of society as such should not be regarded as heaven-born and others as fallen.

The *rationale* and genesis of the caste-system are to be found in the Bhagavat Geeta. Verse 41 of Chapter XVIII means thus:—The actions of the four castes—Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra—are divided according to their disposition and quality. That is to say, the principle of the division of society into castes or sections is based upon the nature of actions and qualities. And it stands to reason that there should be a test or differentiating cause for the classification of society. The Geeta then lays down the distinctive features of the four castes: These are, respectively, spiritual perfection, military prowess, agricultural and commercial knowledge and capacity for only menial service. The legendary account of the growth of the castes also leads to the same inference. It is said that the Brahmanas rose from the mouth of Brahma or the Creator, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaisyas from his thigh, and the Sudras from his feet. It is simply an allegory meaning that the Brahmans represent the brain-power of the nation, the Kshatriyas are a strong safeguard for its protection and defence, the Vaisyas supply its necessities of life, and the Sudras work as common labourers. Not only reason and common sense but Shastric texts discard the idea of the divine origin

of the castes. Besides the provision in the Geeta, as already referred to, a Sanscrit sloka clearly explains that a man is born a Sudra, he becomes a *dwija* or the twice-born by the performance of religious rites and sacraments, a *bipra* or the enlightened by the study of the Vedas and a Brahmana when he knows Brahma or the God. Now the question arises should a Brahmana be allowed to be regarded as such when he has ceased to possess the qualities which entitle him to the highest rank among the castes, and should a Sudra, who is found to possess Brahman-like qualities, be branded as untouchable and degraded? The fact that Rishi Vishwamitra, a Kshatriya, was promoted to the rank of a Brahmana on account of his sanctity and learning, goes to show that the Hindu Shastras do not present an insurmountable objection to the promotion of a lower to a higher caste. The paramount consideration of the progress of society urgently demands that there should be promotion and degradation in the castes or else it will remain in stagnant and imperfect condition and there will be hardly any incentive to its members to maintain the dignity and status of the caste to which they belong or fear to lose it. The rigidity of the caste-system already shows signs of slackening, so any attempt to keep the several castes in water-tight compartments tending to produce habits of aloofness and unconcern in matters of common weal or woe, will signally fail. The education proposed to be imparted to the masses is calculated to break the walls of isolation and bring about national solidarity as well as individual progress. But as the masses are not intelligent enough to understand their real interests, they should be kindly compelled to receive education, though in the first instance it must necessarily be of

an elementary character. There is every reason to hope that great and good results will follow from the spread of elementary education. In spite of the disintegration brought about by the caste-system, it is gratifying to notice that the people are ready and willing to make common cause in defence of a common right or in the redress of a common grievance. The agitation in connection with the Consent Act and other questions of common interest, has shown that caste distinctions do not stand in the way of the Hindus uniting for the defence of their religious rights or other communities co-operating for the safeguard of their common interests. The history of the Indian National Congress goes to show satisfactorily that in spite of caste distinctions and wide differences of race and creed, the Indians can unite nationally for the enforcement of their political rights. What has been done with an illiterate proletariat can certainly be done immensely better with an educated one constituting the bulk of the nation. But although we are very sanguine of good results from mass education, we should be on our guard against the evils of little learning and the imitation of foreign manners and customs unsuited to the genius of Oriental civilisation. For true and lasting good there must be an Eastern foundation with a Western superstructure if need be. Our social organisation and economy has been much affected by the influence of foreign civilisation to the detriment of our indigenous industries. The levelling tendency of Western education is a potent factor in the poverty of the country. The men who were instrumental to the introduction of Western education into India fondly believed that that education would level up. They imagined that European literature and science would succeed in destroying the

caste-system and thus bring about a fusion of the multifarious Hindu castes into one. All that European literature and science have succeeded in doing is making each separate caste into a social republic which owes only a nominal allegiance to the Brahmanas, but which is thoroughly independent of the other castes. The wisdom of the West has succeeded in disintegrating so far the social polity of India. And it is doubtful whether any further disintegration is possible in this direction. At all events it is doubtful whether such disintegration will ever do any good to the Indian people. The results which have followed from it are far from encouraging. For the results have been that the so-called lower castes, the castes which had hitherto represented the industrial classes, have forsaken and are daily forsaking the industries in which their ancestors had excelled and are jostling with the higher or intellectual castes in the learned professions in the hope of becoming gentlemen. The education of the West, it must be held, has brought in its train a snobbishness which in times past was entirely foreign to the Hindu nature and the existence of which was impossible under the iron rule of the caste-system as it stood in pre-British times. All this as much as the competition of the West is responsible for the death of our indigenous industries. There is no doubt of the fact that these industries were placed at a fearful disadvantage when they had to face the competition of the West supported as the latter was by all the discoveries and appliances of modern science which have taken captive the forces of nature and are making them work for the benefit of man. But, if we consider the situation calmly, we must admit that there were other causes at work besides the competition of the West. In the present state

of things the only course left open to our people is for the intellectual classes to take to some of the industries and thus show to the people that they are their real leaders. It is time for the intellectual castes to show by practice and example that their belief in the dignity of labour is sincere and honest and not a mere sham. India is a vast country, almost a continent, full of inexhaustible natural resources. Her poverty is mainly due to ignorance, prejudice and want of enterprising spirit on the part of her people to develop and utilise such resources and thereby bring out her potential wealth. Instead of joining in an indiscriminate rush, either towards the learned professions which have ceased to be lucrative by reason of overcrowding and keen competition, or to Government service the scope and extent of which is too limited to afford employment to more than a few, they would do well to cultivate the growth of local industries. Plain living and high thinking were what our forefathers were noted for. These were also the principal characteristics of the ancient Greeks and Romans. From Sparta strangers were as much as possible excluded by a particular law lest they should introduce bad customs, soft manners or vicious habits. The whole of the citizens, young and old, made their principal repast at the public tables. The meals were coarse and parsimonious; the conversation was fitted to improve the youth in virtue and cultivate the patriotic spirit. The well-known anecdote in the life of Cincinnatus the Roman Dictator is a typical representation of Roman simplicity of manners. He naturally preferred the charms of a retired country life to the fatiguing splendours of office, and on hearing that the Senate had appointed him the Dictator, said to his wife—"I fear, my dear wife, that for this year our little

fields must remain unsown." Such sturdy and frugal habits and pastoral taste also characterised the ancient Hindus whose industry was agriculture. Our educated countrymen regard such a useful and healthy occupation as *infra dig*, hankering after Government service or rushing to the learned professions.

By co-operating with the people the intellectual classes can not only promote the material prosperity of the country but remove the evils of the caste-system. As, however, a society may be developed and improved, and so there must be disparity of intellectual and moral attainments of its members, caste distinctions cannot be totally done away with. In the society of every nationality constituted as at present, there must be Aryas and Sudras, Peers and Commons, Patricians and Plebeians so long as education which is the common leveller commencing, as it usually does, from the higher orders is not filtered down in a full measure to the lowest stratum of society. No human system is thoroughly perfect. Allowing for the shortcomings of our limited range of vision and experience, the influence of passion or prejudice which clouds our judgment to see things in their true colours, the omnipotence of habit which is aptly called second nature tending to produce stolid conservatism unwilling to part with what it has been long familiarised, the best course for us should be to allow a system or practice to stand if by balancing its advantages with its disadvantages, the former are found to outweigh the latter. The system should not be eradicated but pruned down and trimmed so as to afford room for future luxuriant and improved growth. The thought and manners of the West permeate those of the Indians, and social revolution without healthy reform must be deplored when questionable canons are

introduced into the system. Organisation, and not dis-organisation, should be the motto in the adjustment of society, and it must needs be a matter for serious apprehension when revolution takes the place of evolution.

“The system of caste,” says Sir Henry Cotton, “far from being the source of all the troubles which can be traced to Hindu Society has rendered the most important service in the past and still continues to sustain order and solidarity. The admirable order of Hinduism is too valuable to be rashly sacrificed before the Moloch of progress. Better is order without progress if that were possible than progress with disorder.” Like Sir Henry Cotton, Dr. Hunter has also paid a well-deserved tribute of praise to the Hindu caste-system. “The system of caste,” he says, “exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is in the first place a trade guild. It ensures the proper training of the youth in its own special craft; it makes rules for the conduct of business and it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings. The famous manufactures of mediæval India—its muslin, silks, cloths of gold, inlaid weapons and exquisite works in precious stones—were brought to perfection under the care of the castes or trade guilds. Such guilds may still be found in full work in many parts of India.” Industrial revival in India cannot be expected unless there is a general spread of elementary mass education which can only be effectively introduced by making it free and compulsory.

(3) The constitution of the body who will govern the scheme. A Committee composed of public-spirited and liberal-minded non-official Indian gentlemen with a sprinkling of high officials should be formed to mature

and carry into effect the scheme of elementary mass education. The official element is necessary because the people have a great faith in the influence of high Government functionaries, and also because experience has shown that the people are not disposed freely and generously to loosen their purse-strings in support of any great undertaking requiring funds, unless it is in some way officially associated and patronised. The great object of this Committee will be to provide ways and means for furthering the scheme, to fix the proportion of the amounts to be raised by taxation and private donations and subscriptions, to fix the curriculum of study and select appropriate text-books, to fix the standard of qualifications of the teaching staff and the rate of remuneration, to take steps to amalgamate the existing *patshalas* and other primary mass educational institutions with the proposed improved elementary educational schools, to observe economy and simplicity in the conduct of such schools, taking special care to see that more money is spent in the work of teaching than in housing and inspecting or controlling them. The work of inspection and guidance can be done gratuitously by Members of the Committee in rotation or by selection, subject to the general control and supervision of Government Inspectors, to arrange about affording the necessary information to the public by means of leaflets or through the medium of the Press with a view to popularise the scheme, to report to Government educational authorities all the local conditions and circumstances and all other matters necessary for starting the schools, and when started, to regulate and watch their progress, suggesting improvements or altered plans to such authorities and generally to do all such things as

may be deemed necessary to promote the cause of elementary mass education. There should be Central Committees in Presidency towns with branches in the districts. It should be understood that the initiation, maintenance and control of the proposed elementary mass schools will rest with the District Boards and Municipalities within whose respective limits such schools may be established. The Committee of Management, already referred to, will be a sort of Advisory Board, who are to act in consultation with and subject to the guidance and control of such public bodies. But in any area proclaimed by the Government for the introduction of free and compulsory mass education, if the Committee in charge of the schools started therein, undertake to manage them from voluntary private gifts and not from the proceeds of taxation, then the latitude of their power of action should be enlarged if not entirely made free of official interference. Besides provision for the distribution of certain prizes annually to the meritorious students at the examinations, they should be awarded after the completion of their course of study for a period of four years in the elementary schools, small stipends tenable for a couple of years in the technical schools whether situated within the same limits as the former or elsewhere.

It should also be the duty of the Committee to help as much as in them lies in enabling the passed students from the technical schools to obtain suitable posts, or to start workshops for utilising their special knowledge.

As the principal aim of the scheme of elementary education is to improve the material condition of the country in general and of the agriculturists and artisans

in particular, it is necessary to see how such improvement can be effected. Of the three principal elements for the production of wealth—land, labour and capital, India possesses a unique advantage as regards the first two. We have enough of ordinary or coolie labour. But that is not sufficient. Skilled labour is all that is urgently needed. The want is meant to be supplied by elementary, technical education. The deficiency of capital can be raised by means of Joint Stock Companies which if well organised and conducted on economical principles, would afford the means of turning to good account small capitals belonging to several individuals. Small capitals, which, if separately applied, would do little towards the production of wealth, are brought together by Joint Stock Companies and accomplish industrial works of the utmost importance. All the means of enriching India being at hand, how is it that she is getting poorer and poorer day by day? Why are vast areas of land lying fallow for want of cultivation? Why are local industries gradually dying out and giving place to foreign competition? Why, notwithstanding many local advantages, are the people of India beaten hollow in the contest for commercial supremacy? The reason is not far to seek. They lean too much on State support. They have a mistaken notion that everything must be done by Government for the people and nothing by the people, forgetting the golden principle that God helps those who help themselves. Then, again, the middle class gentry, though poor, labour under a narrow prejudice against agricultural or commercial pursuits, which they are in the habit of treating as menial, ignoring the important truth that no avocation, so long as it is an honest means of gaining a livelihood, is

ignoble. Prejudice against sea-travel has also a considerable share in keeping the people of India ignorant of modern improvements in the arts of agricultural and manufacturing industry. The reason which the Indian handicrafts have been to a great extent supplanted by European industries conducted with the help of machinery, is that the Hindus who constitute the bulk of the Indian population, cannot overcome the popular prejudice against visiting foreign countries to obtain scientific knowledge, without which it is hopeless to carry on these pursuits successfully in competition with European skill and machinery. They ought to know that travelling by sea to foreign countries for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge is not against the principles of Hindu religion rightly understood and correctly interpreted. According to the authority of the Mahabharat what is beneficial to mankind is in conformity with true religion. As useful sea-voyages are beneficial to mankind, they are perfectly allowable although not sanctioned by the Dharma-Shastras. The Hindu religion as inculcated in the Upanishads and the Geeta is liberal in its provisions. In case of conflict between these original scriptures and the Dharma-Shastra which is a later compilation, the authority of the former should prevail. There is no conflict between true religion and *shanatan* (everlasting) Hindu religion. Sea-voyage as it is beneficial to mankind is consistent with true religion and therefore consistent with Hindu religion irrespective of the provisions of the Dharma-Shastras. The educated Indians who profess to lead the masses instead of merely spending their energies in long and fine speeches would do well by teaching and enlightening them by personal examples. Let them take to agricultural and commercial pursuits, thereby clearly

indicating the dignity of labour. Let them boldly undertake sea-voyage to foreign countries for the purpose of acquiring legal, medical, scientific, and technical knowledge which will stand them in good stead in various respects, opening to them many useful careers in life. Besides promoting their personal interests they should look after those of their uncultured countrymen. It should be the duty of the Elementary Education Committee in particular and of the educated Indians in general to promote the cause of such education by co-operating with the Government by means of practical suggestions and active work in starting the elementary educational schools and making them a success. By forming Joint Stock Companies they should raise funds for supplementing, if not for dispensing with the necessity of taxation, so essential for the success of the scheme. By means of self-reliance and self-dependence we should try to raise the necessary funds and it is only when our best efforts fail to do so, that we should approach the Government for help and support.

(4) The financial means by which free education could be spread.

As to the question of ways and means Babu Sarada Charan Mitter in his presidential speech at the Albert Hall meeting observed: "It is true that Government cannot at present afford to pay a large amount of money for the education of the masses. The fate of the opium revenue is well known whether for the good of India or not; we do not expect a large financial surplus for the next few years. But there is no reason why the people themselves—at all events the educated classes—should dream of the duty of the Government and not of their own duty to the people." We have dwelt at length under the third heading on the steps which may

be taken to meet by private gifts fully or partially the cost of providing free education for the masses. It now remains to meet the objections to taxation should it be necessary to resort to it for the purpose. No doubt the diminution of the opium revenue can be made up by a strict policy of retrenchment all along the line—retrenchment of the expenses of the various spending Departments. Savings may also be effected by apportioning to the Home Government a proportionate amount of the expenses incurred for imperial purposes and not on India's account alone. Nevertheless, when we pay a number of cesses for road-making and repairing, for public works and for various other objects, a tax for the education of the masses, which is of far greater importance and utility than such objects, will, it is hoped, be ungrudgingly and even gladly agreed to be paid by the people. In fact the provision in Mr. Gokhale's Bill of an education cess is based upon this sensible view. As justly remarked by Babu Sarada Charan Mitter, we must pay for our education. Why should we not pay a few shillings every month for the education of our brethren, for the education of those on whom we rest for bread, who are economically the foundation of Indian society?

This view may be supported on various grounds. In the first place anything paid for the education of our peasants and artisans enabling them to carry on their callings on modern improved lines will be a reproductive investment of capital which will fetch considerable interest in the shape of cheap price for indigenous products which, by means of such financing, will be as good as imported foreign ones and sufficient in quantity to meet the growing demands of the country. The greatest present-day problem in India is how to bring

capital and labour together and to create more of mutual trust among our men. If banks are founded they are more for lending than for working any art or industry and the men of light and leading and of long purse find it safer to invest their savings at a small rate of interest in the Presidency Banks or Government paper than in the improvement of arts and industries of which free and compulsory mass education is the principal means. Again, till a good portion of the money now locked up in jewellery is spent for their promotion, it is idle to expect any lasting good. The absence of machinery and of men skilled in the art of handling it, is another great drawback and unless this is remedied systematically no great impetus can be given to our arts and industries. It is only gradual training in large business concerns that can bring this about. The determination of a number of people to use only country-made goods is, indeed, a very good thing. But it is by no means the most difficult thing to attain. The most important factor, as has already been pointed out, is our capacity to supply the articles needed in quantities required, of quality that would elicit approval and at a cost which it is possible for the purchaser to pay not temporarily but permanently till we are able to drive out the foreign article by the force of a healthy, wholesome, economic rivalry. The rapid growth of the Swadeshi movement imperatively demands the removal of several obstacles such as a predilection for service in preference to an independent calling, the listlessness of the people, their want of patience, a want of the spirit of co-operation and the greed of traders. Such listlessness and want of patience are the inevitable results of the masses having no profitable calling to pursue on account of their ignorance and poverty. Remove the former and

the latter will be remedied as a matter of course. Education will improve not only their material but their moral condition as well. Such improvement will not fail to secure for them better treatment at the hands of the upper classes than is now accorded to them. They will cease to be regarded as untouchable and degraded, a by no means inconsiderable gain in the cause of humanity and the Indian social polity. The civilisation of a country is chiefly measured by the kind and sympathetic treatment accorded to its female and helpless and indigent classes. Although female education forms at present no part of the programme of education set forth in Mr. Gokhale's Bill, it is bound to be taken up as time advances and the country is ripe for recognising the necessity of compulsion in the case of education of our girls. Education will enable them to mould the character of our young men whose good or bad training will make or mar the future destiny of the country. It is our duty to see that our females are educated ; we cannot rise in civilisation by educating men only, leaving the females aside.

A brief *rèsumé* of the topics dealt with may serve as a convenient reference and index to the reader. We have tried to combat the common objections to compulsory mass education, which are that the time is not yet ripe for it ; that the masses will lose rather than gain by it ; that the heterogeneous character of the Indian society would make the trial a failure ; that financial difficulty stands in the way of its successful introduction, and so forth. Every right-thinking man will at once perceive that the first objection is utterly untenable and frivolous. No noble undertaking can be ever accomplished if we are to wait indefinitely for favourable

time and tide. A thing fairly begun is half done. As with individuals so with nations, good opportunities and concurrence of favourable circumstances unless availed of as they present themselves, are often lost. We must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures. We must strike the iron while it is hot. For more reasons than one there has been a healthy awakening of the national consciousness destined to achieve high ends. The psychological moment has therefore come for the successful pilotage of Mr. Gokhale's Free and Compulsory Elementary Education Bill. The apprehension that the measure will entail loss and hardship upon the masses is utterly groundless. On the contrary they will gain immensely by it, as such education will improve their material and moral condition by enabling them to follow their crafts and callings on modern improved lines tending to make them honest and self-reliant and to be treated kindly and courteously.

The rigidity of the caste-system already shows signs of slackening, so any attempt to keep the several castes in water-tight compartments tending to produce habits of aloofness and unconcern in matters of common weal or woe, will generally fail. The education proposed to be imparted to the masses is calculated to break the walls of isolation and bring about national solidarity as well as individual progress. But as the masses are not intelligent enough to understand their real interests, they should be kindly compelled to receive education, though in the first instance it must necessarily be of an elementary character. There is every reason to hope that great and good results will flow from the spread of elementary education.

A committee composed of public-spirited and liberal-minded non-official Indian gentlemen with a sprinkling of high officials should be formed to mature and carry into effect the scheme of elementary mass education.

The necessary expenses for introducing free elementary education should be met from an education cess supplemented, if possible, by private donations and subscriptions. When we pay a number of cesses for road-making and repairing, for public works and various other objects, a tax for the education of the masses, which is of far greater importance and utility than such objects, will, it is hoped, be ungrudgingly and even gladly agreed to be paid by the people. If it be contended that the maximum limit of taxation has been reached so that the people can ill-afford to bear any additional burden, then it is not unreasonable to expect that the Government will see its way to abolish the salt duty altogether or the tax on petroleum or any other cess on the first necessities of life which operates as a hardship upon the poor and substitute for it an education impost. We cannot better conclude this discourse than by quoting the excellent peroration of Dr. S. K. Mullick's bright and illuminating speech—a masterpiece of eloquence and sound reasoning—delivered at the Albert Hall Meeting—whose public spirit and patriotism is widely known and greatly appreciated. "Gentlemen, these are days when the stern realities of life are sterner than ever, the rough-and-tumble existences harder to bear, the intellectual race is a Derby of momentous and perilous consequences. Other nations more gifted not by heredity, for there are indeed none so fortunate as the Indians, are rushing past us to the winning post. India crest-fallen, morose, helpless lags

behind. Vitalise her masses and she will be again a world-wide power, educate her children and she will once more carry the torch of light as she did of yore. When all the world was young she it was who taught a language to its lisping tongue. Give her the modern weapons and she will yet conquer the world not by marching through rapine and plunder but by the all-conquering forces of her intellectual genius, spreading love, faith and charity around her."

K. C. KANJILAL, B.L.

Art. IV.—TALES OF A GREAT-GRANDFATHER

A STRING OF INDIAN STORIES.

A MILD REPROOF.

THERE are few soldiers who have had a more eventful career than General Sir David Baird, Bart., who, some eighty years ago, ruled at Fort St. George. He had been present at the siege of Seringapatam, taken Pondicherry, lost an arm at Corunna and subsequently became Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. While serving in Baillie's force, which was overwhelmed by Hyder Ali, Baird was taken prisoner. Tipu treated his captives with oriental barbarity and Baird would have been heavily ironed were it not that for his sake a Captain Lucas gallantly volunteered to wear a double set of fetters. Baird's mother, however, knowing her son's temper, remarked when she heard of his imprisonment: "I pity the poor man who 'is chained to our Davie!'"

One of Baird's friends—and he hadn't many—was a cavalry subaltern named Kippen. The latter was rather an uncouth fellow, but excellent company, with a stock of good anecdotes. The following is one he used to relate against himself. Kippen, who was a very inquisitive man, happened one day to look in at General Baird's tent when the latter was reading some letters he had received from home. Turning round suddenly, he found his visitor peeping over his shoulder, reading them too. But all the reproof Baird administered was—"Mr. Kippen, here are a few others of a later date!"

NO RESPECT FOR THE "CLOTH."

By a Court-Martial assembled at Fort William on 21st October, 1820, a Captain Alexander Brown of the Hon'ble Company's Artillery was tried for having a few evenings before forcibly entered the private apartments of Captain J. Ferris, although the doors had been bolted and the occupants had retired for the night. This was bad enough, but what followed was worse. Ferris had putting up with him at the time the Rev. J. P. Hastings, who, it appears, had in some way offended Captain Brown. The latter was further charged with conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman on that same evening by shamefully abusing, violently assaulting and even kicking Mr. Hastings when the reverend gentleman was lying on the floor. The Court-Martial having found the prisoner guilty, sentenced him to be discharged from the service. But H. E., the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hastings, on the recommendation of the Court, and in consideration of Captain Brown's length of service and his wounds, as well as the circumstance that he committed the outrage under feelings violently irritated through false representations, released him from arrest, directing him to proceed to Ghazipore, where a detachment of his regiment was then stationed.

Now, a word regarding the Rev. John Paget Hastings, A.B., who was served so badly. Shortly after St. John's Church was made the Cathedral, Mr. Hastings officiated as its Junior Chaplain and then became the Garrison Chaplain. Dr. T. F. Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, died here in July 1822. A month after following his chief's remains to the grave, Mr. Hastings himself paid the debt of nature at the

early age of 32 He has since then reposed in the South Park Street Cemetery.

HYDROPHOBIA : A CHILD-VICTIM.

In one of the Park Street Cemeteries may be read a pathetic epitaph to a little boy named Richard Jones, who died at the age of three years and a half, "of that dreadful disorder the hydrophobia." There does not appear to have been anything extraordinary about the case which, however, aroused great interest both among the medical profession and the residents of Calcutta at the time it occurred. In the spring of 1820 the child while playing in the garden of his father's house in Entally, was attacked and bitten by a pariah dog. The family doctor assured the parents there was nothing to fear, provided that the dog was not mad ; but this is just what does not appear to have been definitely ascertained, although the animal was shot. (There were, of course, no Pasteur Institutes in those days : Louis Pasteur himself was not born till 1822.) Shortly afterwards the boy was taken ill and complained of pains in his body. He daily grew worse and began to show a reluctance for food and medicine. One of his symptoms, which confirmed the idea of its being hydrophobia, was that when water was offered to him, even after he had asked for it, he refused it with horror—an aversion which increased when night came on. Eventually on June 27, 1820, three months after he had been bitten, the end came. The little fellow was conscious to the last, but had lost his speech half an hour before the time he expired in convulsions. Doctors Nicholson, Young, and Macwhirter had been attending him, and after it was all over, the physician last-named asked the father to draw up a statement of the case which was published

in the *Madras Government Gazette* and other papers. "Sweet innocent" (concludes the epitaph to which reference has already been made) "thy pure soul will certainly be received by thy Creator,...which is the best consolation left to thy parents!"

AN ESCAPE FROM JAIL.

Many years ago there occurred in Calcutta an incident which recalled the famous escape of Monsieur de Latude from the Bastille. In this case too it was a Frenchman. Monsieur Sagrais, a well-known merchant in Calcutta, was, in the spring of 1820, owing to his commercial embarrassments, committed to the Presidency Jail, where he remained several months. One evening in November of that year, he was visited by some friends who were all in excellent humour. They kept amusing themselves with song after song until 9 o'clock when they were obliged by the jail rules to depart, leaving M. Sagrais alone, and he, as usual, was locked up for the night. On the following morning somebody discovered a rope hanging from the terrace of the jailor's house and on a search being made, M. Sagrais was nowhere to be found. It was further discovered that he had made a hole in the roof of a small godown attached to his quarters just sufficient to allow of his getting through. By this means he had contrived to reach the roof and thence to pass over the terrace of the jailor's house where he had managed to fix a couple of hooks from which the rope was suspended. It seems extraordinary that the spot to which he was thus enabled to descend, was within twenty yards of a sentry, yet so well did he manage it that no guess could be formed of the hour when he made his exit. It was certain that the hole in the roof of the godown had been made when

M. Sagrais's friends were singing, otherwise the noise occasioned by the operation would have led to the detection of the attempt.

M. Sagrais was, however, brought back by Mr. W. H. Smoult, the Deputy Sheriff, from Serampore, where he had expected to find refuge and protection under the Danish flag. Old Jacob Krefting, the Governor of that settlement, consented to his being given up, as he did not wish that asylum afforded under his Government to persons in pecuniary difficulties should be considered as open also to those who might break out of jail or violate laws established for the well-being of society.

SOME TAJ TRAGEDIES.

The beautiful Taj Mahal has, during the British period, been the scene of one or two forgotten tragedies. On the afternoon of the 23rd February, 1833, a party of Europeans residing at Agra arranged an outing there. Among them were Dr. James Duncan, Civil Surgeon of the station, and his young wife, who was the life and soul of the party. When they got up to the marble platform forming the base of the principal building Mrs. Duncan ran a few steps forward in advance of her friends, then, turning suddenly, she sat down incautiously on the parapet. In doing so she unfortunately lost her balance and fell backwards on to the stone pavement below. The height was rather less than twenty feet, but when taken up she was found to be quite dead. In those days ladies used to wear long back-hair combs, and it was found that Mrs. Duncan's had penetrated the skull.

Some seven years later, on the 14th July, 1840, the death occurred of a European gentleman who was temporarily residing in one of the out-offices of the Taj. Although suffering for some time past from a

severe illness, he had taken no medical advice. Indeed, the circumstances of his case were most pathetic, for the immediate cause of his death was self-sought destitution, the poor man having actually starved himself to death. He was no other than Mr. Robert Cathcart of the Bengal Civil Service. He had lately been officiating as Additional Sessions Judge of Rohilkund when he got into some trouble, but whether he was merely out of employment or had been placed under suspension cannot, after this length of time, be ascertained. In those days Agra was the seat of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. To that official (by name the Hon'ble Mr. T. C. Robertson, B. C. S.) Mr. Cathcart came to solicit re-employment or reinstatement (as the case might have been). He had put in close upon twenty-five years' service, and with regard to the object of his visit his friends confidently hoped he would have succeeded, but for his untimely and regrettable death. — "Who shall make the dark thing clear?"

AN OLD MISSIONARY'S WIVES.

John Zachariah Kiernander will always be regarded as an interesting personality from having been the first Protestant Missionary in Bengal. In one respect at least he was fortunate, having twice espoused wealthy wives. Those familiar with the *Memoirs of Asiatics* will recollect how some months after Kiernander first became a widower, he "had the fortitude not to give himself up to vain lamentations," for "the remembrance of all his former sorrows was obliterated in the silken embraces of opulent beauty." The more accessible biographical sketches of Kiernander do not contain much about his wives, except the fact that the second of them bequeathed her jewels for the benefit of *Beth Tephilla*

or House of Prayer, to wit the Old Mission Church. It is from sources comparatively little known that fuller particulars may be gathered regarding these ladies.

When Kiernander was pastor at Cuddalore, a comely lass, bearing the name of Wendela Fischer, used to place herself in an obscure nook in that part of the church which was set apart for females (such used to be the case in the old days), and whence she could, with little restraint, gaze on the preacher. He was next transferred to Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast, where the young lady's father, a merchant from Hamburg, had a store. She, however, followed him to his new station. Nor did Kiernander rebuke the little levities of the sex. We are told that "after a long religious flirtation," during which his congregation had confidently predicted the matrimonial climax that followed, he married her. This was against the wishes of his friends, and, what is more, by doing so he incurred the reprehension of his Society (namely that for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge) of whose tacit regulations it was a breach. 'However, Wendela's father, who could well afford to do so, gave her a handsome dowry. They were married in 1758, the year Lally captured Cuddalore, and after a few months the young couple came on to Calcutta. Here they met with a cordial welcome and here too was born their son to whom no less a person than Clive himself stood godfather. Here also the first Mrs. Kiernander died and was buried (1761).

His second wife, whom he married the following year, and with whom he acquired a yet larger fortune, was a Mrs. Ann Wolley, a widow with a "plump, unmeaning and orbicular face." She is further described as a young luxurious woman who cared little

for the souls of the heathen ; but on the other hand her husband recorded on her tombstone that she “ practised every virtue that adorns the character of a Christian.” The truth lies possibly between these extremes for (as has already been stated) it is well known she left her jewels for the benefit of the church he had founded at Calcutta. The second Mrs. Kiernander was of an order that will always be an object for ill-placed mirth. So corpulent was she that once just before dinner, when she had been seated on an arm-chair, she rose to be handed to the table, and actually carried the chair with her across the room in spite of her efforts to disengage it !

In Calcutta Kiernander doubtless had a good time of it ; he is reported to have driven in a coach-and-four (which no doubt belonged to his son) and even to have “ walked in silver slippers,” but the latter expression appears to be figurative rather than literal. The story of his signing bonds for his son and becoming bankrupt, and of his church being seized and released by Charles Grant, is well known. But long afterwards, when he was in his eighty-third year, he broke his leg and was charitably informed by a brother missionary who called to comfort him that it was a judgment for the heedlessness of his life !

Kiernander began to suffer from blindness, and towards the third year it was discovered that it was caused by cataract. The only operation then known for its removal was that of “ couching.” This was performed on him by a surgeon who had never performed it himself or even seen it performed, but had digested a treatise on the subject. Fortunately the operation was successful, so Kiernander was gradually restored to sight and enabled to read the Church services with the aid of a

strong magnifying lens The irreverent young men of the Settlement used to amuse themselves by mimicking the old *padri's* air and foreign accent when he exclaimed, reading through his lens, " We will MAGNIFY Thy name, O Lord ! "

A MILTONIC EPIGRAM.

From a very old newspaper published in Calcutta it would appear that a Mr. Milton had set up in business as a livery-stable keeper. As far as one is able to ascertain, he was not connected with the present-day Calcutta firm of that name, nor, for that matter, with the " Immortal " who bestrode Pegasus. But after a century and more the following epigram, from the columns of the local paper aforesaid, seems worth reproducing :

" Two Miltons in separate ages were born,
The clever Milton 'tis clear we have got ;
'Tho' the other had talents the world to adorn,
This lives by his *news* which the other could not ! "

E. W. MADGE and K. N. DHAR, M.A.

Art. V.—MORE ECHOES FROM OLD CALCUTTA.

I. NANDCOOMAR AND HIS EARLY FORGERIES.

ONE of the most interesting subjects which still requires considerable investigation is connected with Maharaja Nandcoomar and his alleged early forgeries in the sixties of the eighteenth century, when, after the Battle of Plassey, the East India Company was only beginning to acquire real territorial acquisition of this country. Several writers have touched upon this difficult topic, but none of them has collected together all the papers dealing with it. Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler in his *Memorandum on the Records in the Foreign Department* (compiled for the Indian Record Commission) says:—

The Volume of Proceedings (from the 27th April 1761 to the 27th September 1762) on the early forgeries of Nuncomar is a curious record connected with the administration of Mr. H. Vansittart, and is important on two grounds: first, as illustrative of the secret intriguing, real or imagined, which was carried on between the Hindu Chiefs in the service of the Nawab and the military commanders in the army of Shah Alum; and, secondly, as indicating the origin of the long-nourished hatred of Nuncomar against Warren Hastings which did not find full expression until many years afterwards. It has already been pointed that the policy by which the Nawab Aliverdy Khan had been enabled to retain his Nawabship free from rebellion was that of reserving all important posts for Hindus alone to the exclusion of the Mussulmans. His successor, Serajadowla, did not exactly reverse this policy, but he offended and insulted both parties, and was consequently ousted by a union of both parties. Meer Jaffir and his successor, Meer Cossim, both attempted to recruit their respective treasuries at the expense of the wealthiest

individuals amongst the Hindus. It was under such circumstances, and whilst the English and Meer Cossim were still at war with the "King" Shah Alum, that some extraordinary letters were discovered on the person of a *hurkara* which seemed to imply that Raja Doolub Ram and another of the Setts* named Ram Churn, were carrying on a treasonable correspondence with one of the military commanders in the camp of Shah Alum. From the proceedings of Government in this matter, it may be gathered that for a long time Mr. Vansittart and his Council were divided upon the subject until about a year afterwards, when Mr. Warren Hastings was appointed Member of Council. Strangely enough, as it now appears, one of Mr. Hastings' first acts after his arrival in Calcutta was to investigate the case; and his inquiries led to the discovery that the native correspondence was a forgery in which the notorious Nuncomar was deeply implicated. The object of Nuncomar in forging these letters was apparently to ruin those influential personages in the eyes of the English, probably to get rid of parties who appeared to him to be standing in the way of his advancement, and possibly to afford an excuse to Meer Cossim for plundering their private property.

To understand more clearly "these early forgeries of Nandcoomar" and their object, the following extract from the general letter to the Court of Directors will be read with interest :—

On the 27th April we received from Mr. Johnstone, then at Jelasore, a packet of letters intercepted by one of his servants

* Wheeler is evidently in error here. None of the Setts bore the name of Ram Churn. The person alluded here was Ram Chand Roy, the founder of the Andul Raj family of Howrah in Bengal. A great writer thus writes on him :— "Ram Chand, the founder of the Andul family, was one of the early writers under the English at Calcutta. Keraneedom should look up to him as one of the patriarchs of their order—one of the early fathers of their church. In 1758 he copied at Sixty Rupees per mensem. He afterwards became *Dewan* to Mr. Vansittart, the Governor of Calcutta. Vansittart came in to Bengal worth a lac of Rupees and after four years' administration, embarked for England with only nine. Vansittart, though he shared with Hastings the defamation of having sold Bengal to Meer Cossim for twenty-two lacs, carried home a sum little more than his salary and commission could have made him. All that his *Dewan* may be imagined to have made under him must therefore fall below nine lacs. But Ram Chand, a few years later, left at his death one crore and a quarter."

which contained some letters under the seal of Ram Churn, formerly the Banian of Colonel Clive, then of Colonel Calliaud, and now of Mr. Vansittart. These letters were addressed to Kunder Khan, the chief of the rebellious Zemindars in the Patna Province. In the same packet were letters under the seal of Kunder Khan to Ram Churn in answer to fore-mentioned, and some letters to other persons referring to the same. Some circumstances appeared on the first inquiry which made us suspect they were forged. We used our utmost endeavours to come to a certainty by either discovering the authors of the invention or the reality of the correspondence, but could not succeed so fully as we could wish. Time perhaps may bring it to light. In the meanwhile, we have sent you our proceedings in this inquiry in a separate book of consultations, which conclude with the opinions of the different members upon the whole. It may not be improper in this place to observe to Your Honours, that the manner of doing business in this country seems to be purposely contrived to evade all inquiry ; for the letters are never signed, and are put under a cover which is secured only with paste, and sealed with a seal which any engraver can counterfeit. Thus, on the one hand, a guilty man has it in his power to deny letters really his own ; and, on the other, an innocent man is subject to be accused of having wrote letters which he never saw. In such cases it is only from circumstances and the views and interest of the person accused that a judgment can be formed.

In continuation of the above letter the following was also communicated to the Court of Directors :—

In our address of the 8th April 1762 by the *Godolphin* we informed you of an inquiry we had had before us concerning a parcel of letters stopped on the road to Cuttuck, and said to be a correspondence between Ram Churn and Kunder Khan ; and in our packet by that ship we transmitted our proceedings at length in the said inquiry. We remarked to your honours in our said address that several strong circumstances appeared to give reason to believe that the whole packet was a forgery. Fresh circumstances appearing since to confirm the said belief, we entered into a further examination of this matter, our

proceedings wherein are likewise transmitted in the *Godolphin's* packet. This further examination has fully convinced us that the letters were forged; and there is great reason to think that Nundcoomar was contriver thereof, with a design of ruining Ram Churn. We cannot say there are such direct proofs as to fix the crime upon him with an absolute certainty; nor indeed is it possible there would be positive proof while he and his Munshi (the only persons supposed to be present when the letters were forged) have resolution enough to persist in denying it.

The beforementioned Nundcoomar is the same person who was convicted some time ago of carrying on a correspondence with the Burdwan Raja of a nature inconsistent with his duty and hurtful to your interest. We find also that the same Nundcoomar was instrumental in carrying on a correspondence between the Shahzada and a French Governor-General before the capture of Pondicherry. This information was given to the President, and by him being laid before the Board was proved by such positive evidence as to leave no room to doubt of the fact. The least we could conclude upon such crimes was, that Nundcoomar, being a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in your settlement, and capable of doing mischief if he was permitted to go out of this province, either to the northward or towards the Dekhan, should, therefore, be kept confined to his own house under so strict a guard as to prevent his writing or receiving letters.

The Court of Directors in reviewing the above proceedings answered thus in their General Letter, London, 22nd July 1764:—

From the whole of your proceedings with respect to Nundcoomar, there seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring by forgery and false accusations to ruin Ramchurn, that he has been guilty of carrying on correspondence with the Country Powers hurtful to the Company's interest, and instrumental in conveying letters between the Shahzada and the French Governor-General of Pondicherry. In short it appears that he is of that wicked and turbulent disposition that no harmony

can subsist in a society where he has the opportunity of interfering. We, therefore, most readily concur with you that Nundcoomar is a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in our settlements, and capable of doing mischief if he is permitted to go out of the province, either to the northward or towards the Dekhan. We shall, therefore, depend upon your keeping such a watch over all his actions as may be the means of preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public or injuring individuals for the future.

The following entries in the Records of the Foreign Department of the Government of India relate also to these early forgeries of Nundcoomar :—

12th January 1761—Governor to the Nawab Mir Kasim—Informs him that some letters from Nundcoomar to the Raja of Birbhum and others have been intercepted.

12th January 1761—Governor to Raja Tilok Chand—Desires him to have no fear. Informs him of Nundcoomar's imprisonment.

28th January 1761—From Nawab Mir Kasim to the Governor—Remarks in bitter terms on the infidelity of Ray Dulab Ram and Nundcoomar. Complains of the consequent troubles in Burdwan and other places.

24th February 1761—Governor to the Nawab Mir Kasim—Has before written to him about Nundcoomar's treasonable correspondence with the enemy, that he had intercepted the letters, made Nundcoomar prisoner, and was examining his papers. It appears that he corresponded with the Shazadah's people, Kamgar Khan and Sheo Bhat, and tried to injure the Nawab and the Company. He would certainly have been punished, if his offences had been such as to come under the tenor of the Company's laws. However, 'it is not in the power of such a man to injure the Nawab or the Company. He has been treated in such a manner that he will never be able to show his face again and will remain in his own house without credit or employment.

22nd March 1761—From the Nawab Mir Kasim to the Governor—Commends the imprisonment of Raja Nundcoomar.

6th May 1761—From the Nawab Mir Kasim to the

Governor—Is astonished to hear that Nundcoomar has been appointed by Colonel Coote as his *Diwan*. Warns him of the consequences.

27th October 1761—Governor to the Nawab Mir Kasim—His Excellency need be under no apprehensions on account of Nundcoomar's evil designs as he has no power to detriment his affairs. Says that though the Colonel permits Nundcoomar to come to him he will set him at a distance as soon as his wickedness becomes evident.

15th November 1761—From the Nawab Mir Kasim to the Governor—Inveighs against Nundcoomar, who wishes to ruin his affairs.

25th August 1762—From Sayyid Muhammad Khan to the Governor—Has seized Nundcoomar's *Munshi*. Is awaiting orders respecting him.

27th August 1762—From the Nawab Mir Kasim to the Governor—Desires that Nundcoomar may be expelled from the country or sent to him.

3rd September 1762—Governor to the Nawab Mir Kasim—Has received his letter saying that not one original can be found to answer the copies sent him ; that the Governor kept them for four months and did not advise His Excellency of it, which makes the latter conjecture that a real and sincere friendship does not subsist between them ; and, lastly, that His Excellency has written to Sayyid Muhammad Khan to send the disaffected people to him. Has also received the accompanying four papers. Replies that had he first acquainted His Excellency of the affair and made it public, bad men would have blamed him for not punishing the offenders. Besides all chance of getting the originals would have been lost. Has written to Sayyid Muhammad Khan to send Najm-ud-din to Calcutta. On the arrival of the *Munshi*, will inform His Excellency of particulars. Bia Ram and Nundcoomar are now prisoners. The latter stands charged also with forwarding a letter from His Majesty to the French at Pondicherry, with forging Ram Chand's Royal Seal and writing to Kamgar Khan and with engaging Sadr-ud-din, his *Munshi*, in the affair, for which he is now in confinement. Bia Ram has been

imprisoned on account of the copies of the above mentioned papers. • He is one of Nundcoomar's people.

Nandcoomar continued to remain in close confinement as long as Mir Kasim remained as Nawab of Bengal. While thus imprisoned, he addressed the following letter in 1763 to the Governor and Council, but did not regain liberty till Mir Kasim was deposed and Mir Jafar was remade Nawab of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

TO THE HON'BLE HENRY VANSITTART, ESQ., AND COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,—The distress I suffer in my person and state during a close confinement since the month of August past induce me to apply to your Hon'ble Board for a further consideration of my case in all its circumstances willing to submit myself if found guilty to whatever punishment your laws may prescribe.

The means which have been used by my enemies to effect my ruin, and the evidences they have produced against me, if sett in the proper lights by a person acquainted with your language and the evidences confronted with me, which they never have been agreeable to the custom of all tryal I flatter myself the proofs would come far short of what they have appeared to your Honours for want of these helps, and would not merit the punishment which is now inflicted upon me.

The ignominious and painful situation I am in at present makes me wish for any end to these miseries, and that I may be brought upon my trial agreeable to the laws of England.

Should your Honours not think proper to grant my request of being tried by the laws of England in a public manner, as your Honours have been pleased to think that I am not to be trusted with my liberty in this country, may I yet beg it may be indulged me to retire with my family in safety to some other.

I am, with greatest respect,

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Your most obedient and humble servant

NUNDECOMAR ROY.

FORT WILLIAM, the 17th March 1763.

Mir Jafar was a great patron of Nandcoomar and did all that he could to promote the interests of his *Dewan*. In the short period of his second Nowabship, Nandcoomar regained the high position he lost in the time of Mir Kasim, became *Dewan* of Bengal, got a seal with the title of Maharaja from the Emperor of Delhi, and as such, became the sole manager of all the affairs of the three provinces, Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with power to administer the whole of the *Khalisah* (Exchequer). But his partisanship for Mir Jafar soon brought him into collision with the East India Company. An account of this dispute and the subsequent discomfiture of Nandcoomar will be told in the next article.

CLAUD MARTIN AND HIS RESIDENCE AT LUCKNOW.

In Mr. S. C. Hill's *Life of Claud Martin*, the reader will find an excellent account of the great Major-General. The following correspondence shows how he was permitted to retire from the military service of the East India Company and to reside at Lucknow permanently and with what object :—

TO MAJOR CLAUD MARTIN.

SIR,—In consequence of the Commander-in-Chief's having communicated the Purport of your Letter to the Hon'ble Board Desiring Permission to remain at Lucknow, etc., I have the pleasure of inclosing you the accompanying minute of Council on that head.

I am, Sir, your most obdt. servant,

ART. OWEN,

Adjut.-Genl.

PATNA, the 5th November 1779.

G. O. Issued by the Commander-in-Chief. Minute of Council, 25th October 1779.

Major Claud Martin having requested permission to remain at Lucknow Exempt for the Military duties of his rank which he is too infirm to Execute.

Ordered that he be struck off the Strength of the Regiment and allowed to Reside at Lucknow with his rank and the pay and allowance only of a Captain.

ART. OWEN,
Adjud.-General.

PATNA, the 5th November 1779.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., ETC., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM, ETC.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,—The necessity which oblige me to intrude for a moment on your time will, I hope, be admitted as an excuse for the liberty I take in troubling your Hon'ble Board with this address.

Having had the honour to receive from Colonel James Morgan extract of your general order of the 8th of November last accompanied by a letter from that gentleman directing me to obey the part which relates to me by repairing to Cawnpur with all convenient expedition.

I am in hope, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, that this order do not include me and that I shall still be permitted to reside at Lucknow according to the kind permission you granted me by your Minute of Council of the 25th October 1779 (copy of which I beg leave to send enclosed.) I was struck off the strength of the regiment and permitted to reside at Lucknow with my rank as Major, but with the pay of Captains only, and that in consequence of this permission which I concluded would not be withdrawn I have laid out the greatest part of my fortune in building me a comfortable habitation, and purchases of a large stock of stores not easily procurable for the use of my office.

I flattered myself too with the pleasing hope by continuing at Lucknow in time so far as to better my circumstances as to have it in my power should my health which has long been on the decline render a change of climate necessary to return to

Europe, but by the order I have mentioned, should it include me which I still hope is not the intention of your Hon'ble Board, otherwise I should find my hopes in this respect at an end and the labour of more than twenty years devoted to the service of the Hon'ble Company totally lost. Thus situated, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, I take the liberty of entreating you will consider my situation and favour me with further leave to remain at Lucknow as you did by your former minutes.

And permit me, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, further to entreat as I am now the eldest Major in the Company's service you would (in consequence of my long and hard service during which I have been so fortunate as to gain the approbation of every officer by which in actual service, I have been commanded) confer upon me the honour of a Lieutenant-Colonel's Brevet Commission with the pay as Major or Captain only, it will not be any prejudice to anybody nor further expense to the Company. I am in great hope your Hon'ble Board will grant that favour, and I am, with the greatest respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most devoted and most humble and obedient servant,

CL. MARTIN.

LUCKNOW, *the 25th January 1782.*

ACHIPUR AND ITS FOUNDER.

The village Achipur on the Hughli was founded by a Chinese named Yong Atchew and was colonised by him with his countrymen in the time of Warren Hastings. How he came to Bengal and with what object are told in the following letter :—

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,

Governor-General, etc., etc.

HON'BLE SIR,—I took the liberty some little time after my arrival of soliciting your support and that of the Government for the infant colony I have brought here under your auspices. You were then pleased to refer me to Mr. Harris, who told me that he would afford me no pecuniary assistance on

account of advances he was then obliged to make for the plantation at Omudpore and some shipping concerns. Since which time I have struggled with innumerable difficulties in procuring subsistence for myself and people ; this I have hitherto been barely enabled to do by the sale of——Arracks monthly and the loan of about thirteen thousand rupees which I obtained by Mr. Harris' recommendation from his Sircar and some others.

By the Macao ships (the last of which I am informed will sail in a few days) each of my people must remit some cash for their families whom they left behind, and I am utterly unable to advance them anything for that necessary purpose. This I would beg leave humbly to represent, will make a very bad impression on such artificers and others who were by my representations inclined to come to Bengal, and only wait to be informed of my success and the degree of estimation their countrymen are held in by the favour shewn me. But when they come to learn that I cannot even fulfil my engagements to those who placing their whole confidence in my veracity, boldly quitted their families and country for a foreign one at immense distance from their own and only known to them by my alluring description, it will surely prevent even the most sanguine from adventuring to a place where their friends have so ill-succeeded. Indeed the want of money has made most of my schemes languish exceedingly so that I have been able to raise little else in my Plantation besides sugar (2,000 maunds of which I hope to have ready for sale in about two months) ; the times very fortunately for me favouring the sale of spirits I have also distilled a small quantity which I readily dispose of.

Thus much by unremitting industry and attention I have effected, but am afraid there I must stop as my wants prevent my attending to anything, but what is easily accomplished and yields me a quick return, of course all hopes of improvement precluded.

I hope your Honour will excuse me this tedious detail but embarked in a scheme on the success of which all my future prospects depend, I should not refrain from laying my

grievances before you and humbly hope your Honour's assistance to overcome them. I am very willing to give my Bond for such sum as you may be pleased to advance me, and have not a doubt but I shall be able in the course of a very few years not only to repay that but accumulate a fortune equal to my wishes. I also again pledge myself to bring artificers of all kinds by the returning ships next season, and the manufactures of China are too well known and too generally esteemed in this Settlement to need any comment of mine on the advantages attending such an acquisition.

The present period is likewise favourable to my views, being informed by my last letters from Canton that a great scarcity of grain prevails all over the country ; this must render the means of living which from the number of inhabitants China swarms with, is by no means easy even in the most plenteous times, now much more difficult and dispose those I wish to have, the more readily to embrace my offers. Your Honour will, I daresay, be pleased to hear, what gives me infinite pleasure to tell, that this climate is by no means unfavourable to a Chinese institution having only lost two men out of the 110 I brought with me, one of whom died of a disorder not incident to the country. Upon the whole with your Honour's support I form the most flattering presages, deprived of that I am afraid I have been only struggling with difficulties which I may perhaps be able to equal, but never conquer.

I am, Hon'ble Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient humble Servant,

YONG ATCHEW CHINESE.*

CALCUTTA, *February 1782.*

CALCUTTA MADRASSA AND ITS FOUNDATION.

It is well known that the first two educational institutions established by the East India Company for the education of the people of this country are the Calcutta

* For some more letters on this subject see *Bengal : Past and Present*, p. 138, Vol. III.

Madrassa and the Benares Sanscrit College. The former owed its existence to the philanthropy of Warren Hastings, and the latter to Jonathan Duncan. The following selections from the records of the Government of India will show how the Calcutta Madrassa came into existence :—

GOVERNOR-GENERAL :—In the month of September 1780, a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussalmen of credit and learning who attended in a body for that purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mujid Odin who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madrassa or College, and Mujid Odin the fittest person to form and preside in it, that Calcutta was already become the seat of a Great Empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan, that it had been the pride of every polished Court and the wisdom of every well-regulated Government both in India and Persia to promote by such Institution the growth and extension of liberal knowledge, that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accomplished that of the Mogul Empire, that the numerous offices of our Government which required men of improved abilities to fill and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and (I hope this addition will not be imputed to me as ostentation on an occasion in which the sincerity of what I shall hereafter propose for the Public Patronage will be best evident by my own example), the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished usually met with a distinguished reception from myself afforded them particular encouragement to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government.

This was the substance of the Petition which I can only repeat from my memory, having mislaid the original.

I dismissed them with a promise of complying with their wishes to the utmost of my power, I sent for the man on whom they had bestowed such encomiums and prevailed upon him to accept of the office designed for him. He opened his school at the beginning of October and has bestowed an unremitting attention on it to this time, with a success and reputation which have justified the expectations which has been formed of it. Many students have already finished their education under his instructions, and have received their dismissal in form and many dismissed unknown to me. The master supposing himself limited to a fixed monthly sum which would not admit a larger number besides day scholars, he has at this time forty boarders mostly natives of these Provinces but some sojourners from other parts of India, among them I had the satisfaction of seeing on the last New Year's day, some who had come from the Districts of Cashmere, Guzerat and one from the Carnatic.

I am assured that the want of suitable accommodation alone prevents an increase of the number. For this reason I have lately made a purchase of a convenient piece of ground near the Boita Connah in a quarter of the town called Podpokur and have laid the foundation of a square building for a Madrassa constructed on the plan of similar edifices in other parts of India.

Thus far I have prosecuted the undertaking on my own means and with no very liberal supplies. I am now constrained to recommend it to the Board, and through that channel to the Hon'ble Court of Directors for a more adequate and permanent endowment.

By an estimate of the building which with a plan and elevation of it shall accompany this minute, the whole cost of it will be 51,000 Arcot Rs. to which I shall beg leave to add the price of the ground being sicca Rs. 6,280. The amount of both is Arcot Rs. 57,745-2-11. It shall be my care to prevent an excess of this sum, which I request may be placed to the Company's accounts, and a bond allowed me for the amount

and that I may be enabled by the sanction of the Board to execute this work.

I must likewise propose that a parcel of land may be assigned for the growing charge of this foundation. The present expense is as follows :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
The Preceptor per month ...	300	0	0
40 scholars from Rs. 7 to 5 per month .	222	0	0
A sweeper	3	0	0
House rent	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
Sicca Rs. .	625	0	0
	<hr/>		

The day scholars pay nothing. In the preparation of the above expense an establishment of 100 scholars may be estimated at Rs. 10,000 per month at the utmost. I would recommend that the rents of one or more *mouzas* or villages in the neighbourhood of the place be assigned for the monthly expense of the proposed Madrassa and that it be referred to the Committee of Revenue to provide and make the endowment and to regulate the mode of collection and payment in such a manner as to fix and ascertain the amount and periods of both and prevent any future abuses of one or misapplication of the other. For the present an assignment of half the estimated sum will be sufficient.

WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM, *the 17th April 1781.*

Agreed, E. Wheler.

Ordered that the estimate enclosed in the above minute be entered after the consultation.

Agreed to the Governor-General's request and ordered accordingly :—

Ordered that copies of the above minute and its enclosure together with the plan and elevation of the building therein mentioned be transmitted to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors by the ships under dispatch, and the subject particularly recommended to them for the purposes set forth by the Governor-General.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL: As upon enquiry I find that the Committee of Revenue have not yet been directed to assign the rent of one or more *Mousas* or Villages in the neighbourhood of the spot upon which the Madrissa has been erected for the monthly expence thereof as resolved upon by the Board on the 18th April 1781, and as the monthly expence of that institution has been since that time defrayed by me, I request that the Committee of Revenue may be furnished with the direction recommended by my minute of the 18th April, and ordered to repay to me the amount which I have since that time paid on this account amounting agreeable to the accompanying Account to C. Rs. 8,251-12.

On comparing the statement of the monthly expence of this institution contained in my minute of the 18th April 1781 with the sums which I have monthly disbursed on this account the former of which was taken from the representation of my Moonshy who does not seem to have been apprised of its actual expence, I find that I have in that minute somewhat underrated the sum required for its monthly support. I therefore request that the Board will be pleased to direct the Committee of Revenue to assign the rent of one or more *Mousas* producing a monthly revenue of twelve hundred sicca rupees per month to be applied to this purpose and to commence on the first of this month.

I find that I have been misinformed as to the cost of the grounds upon which the building has been erected, which was in that minute stated at 6,280 Sa. Rs., but which amounts to no more than Sa. Rs. 5,641 agreeable to the accompanying account of the "Kowalleahs" taken from the persons of whom the several parcels of land were purchased, which "Kowalleahs" accompanying this minute.

I request that the Board will be pleased to order the Sub-Treasurer to make a transfer of the amount which I have advanced on this account in the Treasury account of the present month charging the same to the Madrissa and crediting money borrowed at interest for the sums advanced by me, for which I request he may be directed to prepare Bonds in my name with interest to commence from the dates upon which the sums were

severally advanced, agreeable to the accompanying account thereof.

I request that the Committee of Revenue be directed to receive charge of the "Kowalleahs" from the Secretary to the Board and to preserve them with the records of their office.

List of the "Kowalleahs" and Receipts given for the ground upon which the Madrissa stand and of the sums paid for the same :—

	Bs. C.		Rs. A. P.
1 Fokeer Chand Tewarrey	for 2 5 @ 80 S.Rs. per cottah	...	3,601 0 0
2 Bankier	3 @ ditto	...	240 0 0
3 Urrooney Rawn	4½ @ ditto	...	360 0 0
4 Tajoor Moorman	2 @ ditto	...	160 0 0
5 Haywatty	6½ @ ditto	...	520 0 0
6 Harraney Rawn	5 @ ditto	...	400 0 0
7 Elizabeth and Robert Olver	6 @ ditto	...	360 0 0

	3-12	Sa. Rs. ...	5,641 0 0
7 Kowalleahs		Batta 16 p. C. Rs. ...	902 8 9

C. Rs. 6,543 8 9

"Without Date."

WARREN HASTINGS.

(Recorded as Cons. 2 and 3, *3rd June 1782.*)

Account of sums disbursed by the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esqr., on account of the 'Madrissa from the 30th April 1781 to the 1st May 1782.

1781.		Rs.
May.	Paid Moulvey Musdodey for keeping a School ...	200
	House rent — ...	100
	Wages ...	300

• @ Rs. 600 or 648

Wages for keeping another School for 25 days.

	Rs.	As.	P.
@ 470 per month ...	391	10	9
House rent @ 51-8 p.m. ...	42	14	9

@ Rs. 434 9 6 or 469 5 9

Given to Moulaveys Essup and Musrief.

	Rs.	As.	P.
2 Khillats contg. 4 pp ca 375 or 405 ...	1,522	5	9

				Rs.		
June.	Paid Moulvey Musdodey for keeping a School	...	...	200		
	House rent	...	...	100		
	Wages	...	...	300		
				<hr/>		
				600		
				<hr/>		
	Ditto	ditto for keeping another School	...	Rs. 470	As. 0	P. 0
		House rent	...	51	8	0
				<hr/>		
				521 8 0		
				<hr/>		
				@ Rs. 1,121	8 or	1,211 3 6
July.	Paid Moulvey for keeping another School	...	...	1,211	3	6
	Carried over	...	...	3,944	12	9
	Brought forward	...	...	3,944	12	9
1781.						
August	Paid Moulvey Musdodey for keeping Schools, etc.	...	...	1,211	3	6
September	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
October	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
November	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
December	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
1782.						
January	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
February	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
March	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
April	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3 6
				<hr/>		
				14,845 12 3		
Amount paid to darogah for superintending the building				<hr/>		
@ Rs. 350				...	406	0 0
				<hr/>		
				C. Rs. 15,251 12 3		

(Without date)

WARREN HASTINGS.

(Record No. 4 Cons., dated 3rd June 1782.)

CHARGES OF CORRUPTION AGAINST SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.

Readers of Dr. H. E. Busteed's delightful *Echoes from Old Calcutta* will easily recall to mind that in allusion to a lucrative contract for keeping bridges or embankments of the Burdwan District in repair given to Sir Elijah Impey's relative, Mr. Archibald Fraser, that we find Impey generally known by the *sobriquet* of Justice Pulbandi or the Venerable Pulbandi.

Sir Philip Francis maintained that the real contractor was the Chief Justice himself. The following correspondence will throw full light on this subject as well as on the charge brought against the Chief Justice for which he was recalled from Bengal by Lord Shelburne to answer for the acceptance of the office of Judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut which was affirmed to be contrary to law, and not only repugnant to the spirit of the Act and Charter, but fundamentally subversive of all its material purposes.

CALCUTTA, *3rd April 1779.*

GENTLEMEN,—In reviewing the Proceedings of the Governor-General and Council in their Revenue Department, there is one subject which, I conceive, deserves the particular attention of the Court of Directors. I take this method of recommending it through you to their immediate consideration, for reasons which undoubtedly will recur to you, as soon as you are possessed of the particular circumstances that belong to it.

On the 10th of October 1777 a majority of the Board thought fit to give a contract for keeping the *Pools* at Moorshidabad in repair for two years to a Mr. Wattel, for the sum of 1,64,000 sicca rupees. Of this person I can give you no other information than that he is not in the Company's service. His connections and situation in this country are equally unknown to me ; but I feel no hesitation in assuring you, that the contract is too profitable to be given to him for his sole benefit.

On the 13th of February* 1778 the majority thought fit to give a contract for repairing the *Pools* of the district of Burdwan to a Mr. Fraser, for two years, for the sum of 1,80,000 sicca rupees ; whereas in the settlement of that district formed by Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monson and myself for the years 1776 and 1777, the Raja's officers had engaged and were bound to perform the same service for the sum of rupees (sicca) 25,000 per annum. Mr. Fraser is an under officer in the Supreme Court of Judicature, where I understand he is well

* Rev. Cons. 13th February 1778.

provided for. You are to consider and judge of the views and principles which have guided the Governor-General and Council in the allotment of such a business, on terms of such immoderate profit, to a person so circumstanced, as you will find Mr. Fraser to be. If you think fit to enquire into his situation and connections by referring to the consultations, you will find that I have gone as far in opposing the measure, as the delicate and personal nature of the question, and perhaps my own safety, would admit of. Let me only assure you, that it concerns the Company's service in a very high degree.

Some late Resolutions still more extraordinary and questionable than even those taken in the first instance, have brought these contracts again into view. On the 29th of December and 2nd of February* last it was determined to give Mr. Wattel and Mr. Fraser a grant of a continuation of their present contracts, respectively, for three years each, to *commence*, from the expiration of such contracts, that is to *commence* at a time, when by law the present Government will have ceased to exist. I am informed that grants, so circumstanced, are in themselves illegal and void, and as such Mr. Wheler and I have opposed them. The whole sum payable to Mr. Fraser of the Company's Treasury is sicca Rupees 4,20,000 which reckoning the current rupee at two shillings is equal to £48,720. Besides this you will observe that, in the second grant, Mr. Fraser is authorised to execute certain additional works, which properly belong to his contract, and to deliver in extra bills for the same *upon honour*, what such extra charge may amount to, or whether his whole real expense will not be covered by this supplemental condition, can only be matter of conjecture. The objection to the new clause, on the face of it, is that it leaves the Company open to an unlimited charge. The whole disbursement on account of Mr. Wattel's contract will be sicca Rupees 4,12,000, £47,792.

It is for the Company to consider whether they will allow their servants to bind them in this manner, for any term of years *ad libitum*, and to give away their property with such unbounded profusion. It is not possible, I think, that the

* Rev. Cons. $\frac{16}{19}$ Feb. 1779.

purposes to be answered by so manifest a sacrifice of the Company's interest to that of individuals, can be mistaken. In the case of Mr. Fraser, the object meant to be provided for is sufficiently apparent, and very well understood in this place. The continuation of Mr. Wattel's contract, I have reason to believe, is for the use of Dr. Burn and Sir John D'Oyly.

If any material change shall take place in this Council, on the expiration of our present appointment, I should conceive that the new Administration would think it their duty to take into immediate consideration, whether the validity of the preceding grant ought not to be litigated. But I confess, that for my own part I should enter into such a litigation with great doubt and discouragement, and without a hope of success in any degree adequate to my private opinion of the wrong which the Company suffer.

The Court of Directors will weigh and determine, whether it be not incumbent upon them to support their Government here, by the best opinions taken in England and by precise institutions and positive orders founded thereupon, let me only observe that no time ought to be lost, in sending out such orders and instructions as they may think the case requires, and it is not likely that individuals here, however upright and irreproachable in their own conduct, will act steadily and resolutely on such invidious ground, if they are not heartily supported by the direct authority and most decided approbation of their employers.

The grants given to Captain Macgowan will be brought before the Company by their Board of Commerce. I shall, therefore, content myself with referring you* to the several consultations in which those grants are recorded and with assuring you that they deserve your attention not less than the contracts which are immediately the subject of this letter.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest respect,
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
P. FRANCIS.

* Pub. Dept. 8th Dec. 1777, 14th December 1778, 22nd March 1779.

TO THE HON'BLE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—I hereby take the liberty of inclosing to you a copy of a letter which has lately come to my hands, the original of which I understand was written by Phillip Francis, Esqr., late a member of your Hon'ble Board, to the Select Committee of the Court of Directors, with the intent of fixing on me the imputation of what I esteem the meanest species of corruption; when you have perused it you will not be surprised at my anxiety to refute the insinuations contained in it which is fully done by the affidavits which I have caused to be annexed to it. To those affidavits as far as they relate to me I am ready and willing to add my own confirmation on oath.

It being necessary to communicate the copy of Mr. Francis's letter to Messrs. Fraser and Bayne for the purpose of procuring their affidavits in answer to such parts of the letter as concerned me, they have desired to add to their affidavits such matters as they have thought necessary to clear away imputations which they think cast on them by the same letter and to deny some facts positively asserted therein.

I have likewise written a letter, in which these are inclosed to the Court of Directors which I send to you unsealed. The purpose of this part of my address to you is to request that you will after having read the whole replace the several inclosures, seal it, and permit it to be transmitted to the Court of Directors by your next dispatch for Europe, and if it be not irregular that copies of the whole may be entered in Proceedings.

I have learned from report but not from any letters which I have received from England that the same gentleman has accused me before a Committee of the House of Commons of having committed an offence against the Act of the 13th of His Present Majesty, by having accepted as a compromise with the Governor-General from your Hon'ble Board the office of Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut with a large salary annexed thereto. The acceptance of the salary and not of the office I suppose to be charged as the crime.

The Governor-General and Council are individually subjected to the same restrictions with regard to emoluments, in the same clauses in the Act, and by the same words as the Judges. Yet two of the Counsellors (one within a year after the Act past and before he proceeded to Bengal) have been appointed openly by the East India Company, Commanders-in-Chief of the forces in India with considerable salaries and have received and enjoyed their salaries. I could not imagine after an office with a salary had been thus accepted by gentlemen under the same restrictions as I am, with the knowledge of the King's Ministers, of the Parliament and of the whole nation, and after they were suffered to receive the emolument of their offices without molestation, that the acceptance of an office of great trust and real business tho' with a salary could be deemed illegal in me; for I cannot conceive if the statute prohibits a Counsellor from accepting an office with emoluments, that the appointment having been made publickly and notoriously could alter the essence of the fact itself and except it out of the 'law'; tho' as this past not only without censure, but with the full acquiescence of His Majesty's Ministers, the Parliament and the nation at large, it was, surely reasonable to infer that it was never esteemed to be within the Act.

But tho' I never entertained an idea of its being an offence against the Act, I had scruples from other motives against applying the salary to my own use until the whole circumstances of the business should be perfectly known in England by those whose esteem for my character and conduct I was anxious to preserve, and by whose judgments I was resolved to be guided as to the propriety of retaining the emoluments of the office. With this resolution I apprized you by a letter which I addressed to you on the 5th of July 1781, the first I had the honour of writing to you, after you had annexed a salary to the office to which letter and your answer to it of the same date I take the liberty to refer you. On the same principles I had long before writing that letter to you, and immediately after my acceptance of the office in October 1780, and before any salary was annexed to it informed the Lord High Chancellor of the appointment. Some time in

January 1781, it was communicated to me by your Secretary that you had been pleased to annex a salary of 5,000 sicca rupees to the office, of this and with my resolution not to apply the salary to my own use if it should be thought improper, I informed the Lord High Chancellor and His Majesty's Attorney-General by letters dated in April 1781, and having for that purpose procured copies from your office of all your proceedings relative as well to the Provincial as Sudder Dewannee Adawluts I forwarded them in the same letters to England. These several letters were sent by the first conveyance from hence after each respective event had taken place. I wrote on the same subject and in the same manner to many of my friends.

I did not write to His Majesty's Secretaries of State, because as the whole of your Proceedings must be transmitted to one of them, these amongst the rest must have come officially before them, and could not escape their notice tho' mixed with other voluminous matter, if they had given occasion either for censure or doubt respecting the propriety of it.

As your Proceedings in the course of business would not only be subjected to the East India Company but to His Majesty's Secretaries of State, as I had disclosed the whole to the Lord High Chancellor and His Majesty's Attorney-General, and as the duties of the office were performed publicly, I must know that this transaction could not be kept a secret; from thence I trust a fair deduction may be made that I at least did not think I was doing that which was criminal.

Sir Robert Chambers having accepted from your Hon'ble Board the office of the Chief Justice of Chinsurah with a salary annexed thereto will evince that his opinion did not differ from mine with regard to the legality of the Act.

How far public utility weighed with me when I took charge of the office may be difficult of positive proof as the chief evidence of it must rest in my own breast; I will not, therefore, offer my own averments and assurances on that subject, as I cannot expect them to meet with the general credit which I am conscious they deserve; I shall likewise for

similar reasons decline to say anything myself of the utility of the office choosing to leave it to the attestations of others less biassed, and to the known effects of the appointment ; for whether my having regulated the office and discharged the duties of it, have or have not been attended with labour to myself and good to the country, your Hon'ble Board have now full experience to determine, and to your candour I refer it for an impartial representation at home.

If by compromise with the Governor-General is meant any agreement express or implied of any kind whatsoever that I should at all relax in any matter which had or was likely to be contested between the Governor-General or Council and the Supreme Court, which is the only sense I can put on the word, I do most positively and solemnly deny the charge, and beg leave to refer to the recollection of the Governor-General whether I did not in the course of conversations when he talked of the expedience of the office being placed in my hands, explain to him that it was not to be expected that my holding the office should in the least vary my conduct with regard to the differences of opinion entertained by the Governor-General and Council and the Court, and whether he did not declare that no such thing was expected, and expressed some dissatisfaction that I had thought it necessary to use a caution of that nature. And to the judges I appeal, whether in every case wherein such differences of opinion were involved, I have not since the appointment persisted in the same uniform language and conduct which I held before the appointment. I had indeed both before and after the appointment, as soon as the subjects of the differences had been referred to England, as far as I could consistent with what I thought the duties of my office of Chief Justice, to the utmost of my power endeavoured to prevent all questions which might either revive the old or furnish new matter of contention between the Governor-General and Council and the Court, from coming to a public decision, that everything might remain in quiet and with as little ferment as possible till a remedy from home should be applied to the evil. But as this was the rule of my conduct as well before as since the appointment

this I can hardly think is intended to be referred to by the pretended compromise.

It would ill become me after the trust and confidence with which you have honoured me, on account of any obloquy or personal attack which it may have submitted me to, by abandoning the office before you have taken order about it to replunge the administration of justice into that confusion from which I flatter myself I have in some small degree been the means of rescuing it, I have, therefore, to this time carried on the civil business of the office, which I think I might lawfully do, as the new Act of Parliament which confirms the Court authorises it to be held by the Governor-General and Council, or some committee thereof, or *appointed thereby*. But as it is now by that Act erected into a Court of Record and an appeal is given from it to His Majesty and it is made a Court of Criminal Jurisdiction for the purpose of hearing, trying, determining and punishing offences committed in the collection of the revenues, I must submit to your Hon'ble Board whether it is not become necessary to take into consideration by whom and in what manner that justice which is now of a criminal as well as a civil nature should be administered, and this leads me to remind you more particularly that the rules and regulations already formed by you, relate only to civil suits, and that there are none which will apply to the new criminal jurisdiction now given to the Court.

I have before mentioned that I have hitherto carried on the business of the Court in the usual manner; but as some time has now elapsed since the arrival of the new Act of Parliament, I thought it my duty to inform you of what relates to myself, as it is connected as well with your public acts as my own, and to remind you of the necessity of making provisions with regard to the Court.

I shall for the same reasons which have prevailed on me to the present time, still continue to go on with the civil department of the Court, but must decline hearing, trying and determining on any complaints of a criminal nature, should any such be preferred to the Court, both because there are no rules laid down for proceedings in such cases,

and because I do not know it was your intention that I should. The holding such jurisdiction being totally different in its nature and consequences from that which you have commissioned me to execute.

I must request that the consideration of these matters may be brought before your Hon'ble Board on as early a day as your Proceedings will with convenience admit.

I have the honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your very obedient humble servant,
E. IMPEY.

CALCUTTA, *8th August 1782.*

I have been obliged to delay the sending in this letter as Mr. Bayne desired to consult his papers at Baugnan before he swore to his Affidavit.

The Chief Justice having appealed to me for the truth of his relation of a conversation which passed between him and myself at the time in which it was proposed to establish the new office of Sudder Dewanny Adalaut to place him at the head of it, I reply I do not remember the particulars of any of the conversations which passed between us upon that subject, and cannot, therefore, confirm by any direct testimony the truth of what he has asserted. But I can affirm what probably will be deemed equivalent to it, that such is the respect which I have ever held for the character of the Chief Justice and so delicate has my conduct towards him ever been, even at the time when I thought his acts and those of his brethren most dangerous to this Government and personally hostile to its Members, that I am certain that if he had submitted to explain himself to me in the terms which he has quoted, I should have replied in the manner which he has mentioned, and that I should have felt and expressed the greatest repugnance to receive such an explanation, as it implied but the possibility of my entertaining a base suspicion of his character. My real motives, and all my motives, for recommending that this office might be conferred on him were contained in the public reasons on which I supported the recommendation.

I had myself had a principal share in framing a Judicial Constitution, for which I had promised myself credit ; but this, from an unhappy defect in the act of Parliament of the 13th of his present Majesty, having thrown doubts on the legality of the Constitution and impressed the minds of those to whom the Executive charge of it was committed with fear for their personal responsibility in the discharge of it, was thereby rendered ineffectual. The offices appointed for the administration of Justice existed only in the salaries annexed to them ; none of the Judges (these called Superintendents) daring to act, except in a very few instances of too public a notoriety.

I know it to be the decided opinion of the Chief Justice that these Judges might legally exercise the functions assigned them and his opinion was generally known, but as it was qualified with distinctions which still left room for the operations of their personal fears, the effect was not altered by it. To remove those fears, to discourage appeals and carry suits to the Supreme Court ; and to preclude the causes of it by a more regular conduct of the Judges of the Dewanny Courts I advised the Board to place them all under the control, instruction and the protection of the Head of that Court, the dread of which had hitherto proved the impediment to their acting. This was my first and leading motive. I had others which I enumerated in my minute. I ventured to foretell the great effects of this institution, and I have not only seen my promise verified in the event, but I have had the satisfaction of hearing many who had laboured to dissuade me from proposing it, and who had dreaded the worst evils from it, avow their error, and attest the public benefit derived from it to the inhabitants of the provinces, and credit to the Government.

When I have said that my minute in which I recommended the present judicial system, contains many motives, perhaps I may have deceived myself. It is not easy for a man to ascertain in the movements of his *own* affections the precise lien at which his zeal to discharge a public obligation ceases and unites with that which private interest or private friendship may describe. I verily believe that I had no motive but that which I have assigned, and these all spring from public

and laudable considerations. Yet when these had produced their effect, I will not deny that I was pleased with an opportunity of being the instrument of placing in a conspicuous and creditable position of this service, and I may add profitable a man for whom I entertained a sincere friendship, grounded on a knowledge of his personal virtues, and an acquaintance of more than thirty years.

I do not expect that my general declaration of the benefits attained from the appointment shall be taken as evidence of them. The fact will best appear from the extracts of our correspondence with the Sudder Dewanny Court since its last establishment and the copy of the Regulations which the Chief Justice has with equal labour and ability framed for the guidance and process of the inferior courts.

W. HASTINGS.

(N. D.)

(Cons. 19, dated 19th August 1782.)

The affidavit of Archibald Fraser, Esqr., sworn before the Honourable Mr. Justice Hyde on the sixteenth day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

Archibald Fraser of Calcutta Gentleman maketh oath and says that some time in the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six when John Mills Gentleman was appointed to the office of Superintendent of the Police of the town of Calcutta vacant by the death of Alexander Macraby, Esqr., Brother-in-Law as this Deponent has heard and believes of Philip Francis, Esqr., late a Counsellor of this settlement, it being rumoured that the said John Mills would not long reside in Bengal, he this Deponent by the mediation of Sir Elijah Impey applied to the Governor-General for his interest to succeed to the office when it should become vacant and was informed by the said Sir Elijah Impey that the Governor had promised his interest when the vacancy should happen and desired that this Deponent would in the mean time employ himself in such manner as would instruct him to execute the Duties of the office; that the said John Mills having in consequence as this Deponent has heard and believes of complaints preferred against him for offences in his office

by the Judges of the Supreme Court been obliged to vacate his office. The said Sir Elijah told this Deponent that he wished this Deponent would not urge the Governor-General to keep his promise with regard to the succession to the said office; he Sir Elijah then declaring that he was apprehensive that if he this Deponent succeeded to the vacancy, it might cause a suspicion that he Sir Elijah had joined in preferring such complaints against the said John Mills not from principles of justice, but for the purpose of serving the interest of this Deponent, as this Deponent is a son of the Brother of the mother of the said Sir Elijah and then lived in his family and that Sir Elijah further informed this Deponent that he had expressed the same sentiments to the Governor-General and that the Governor-General had promised to serve this Deponent in some other way. And this Deponent further says that Charles Stafford Playdell, Esqr., was appointed to the office in the room of the said John Mills. And this Deponent verily believes if Sir Elijah Impey had not for these reasons desired this Deponent to waive the promise so made by the Governor-General he this Deponent should have succeeded to the said office. And this Deponent further says that some time in the latter end of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, or the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight this Deponent was informed that he had been appointed to the office of the Coroner of this Town, but he this Deponent disliking the nature of the attendance in such office, and not being sufficiently instructed in Law with the duties of the same, did beg leave to decline the acceptance of such office. That soon after, but on what particular day this Deponent at this distance of time cannot say, George Bogle, Esqr., now deceased came to this Deponent who was then alone in his Bed chamber and advised this Deponent to make proposals to the Governor-General and Council for a contract to keep the Government Pools of the Burdwan District in repair for the space of two years, and the said George Bogle then acquainted this Deponent that by the neglect of the said Pools for the two preceding years an adequate sum (as the said George Bogle said) not having been allowed they were in a very ruinous condition, and that the said George Bogle suggested to this

Deponent in what terms it would be proper to make proposals for the said contract and did at the same time recommend that John Bayne Gentleman, whom he the said George Bogle recommended as a person well-skilled in such business to be Agent to this Deponent for the carrying the said contract into Execution; that he this Deponent did on the next day and before he acceded to the said proposition acquaint Sir Elijah Impey with what has past between the said George Bogle and this Deponent and asked the advice of the said Sir Elijah who answered this Deponent to this effect, that he knew nothing of the nature of the business or what were proper proposals to make, but that if he this Deponent thought he could derive profit therefrom he Sir Elijah would have no objection to this Deponent's engaging therein. That in consequence of the advice of the said George Bogle and assent of the said Sir Elijah he this Deponent did make proposals to the Governor-General and Council in the terms suggested by the said George Bogle without any variation whatsoever and that in some short time after he was informed that his proposals had been accepted. And this Deponent further says that he verily believes the said proposition was made to this Deponent without the privity or knowledge of Sir Elijah Impey and that the said Sir Elijah was totally ignorant of anything relative hereto, until he this Deponent informed him thereof as is before related. And this Deponent further says that he verily believes the said Sir Elijah did not at any time apply to or solicit the Governor-General or any other person whatsoever on that subject before the said proposals were accepted by the Governor-General and Council. And this Deponent further says, that on or about the month of December one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight the said John Bayne represented to this Deponent that every (?) great inundation had happened by which a greater expense was incurred by this Deponent than was expected at the time of his entering into the contract, and that it would be highly beneficial to the country to prevent such inundations in future which could not be checked by the Pools which this Deponent was by this contract bound to repair, that certain works should be erected which said works were called by the said

John Bayne *Dobunds* and which did not belong to the said contract, as by the said contract bearing date on or about the sixteenth day of April one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight and by a renewed contract bearing date the sixteenth day of February one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine reference being thereunto had will fully appear; for the erecting of which said new works he this Deponent was to receive no consideration whatsoever by the contract and recommended this Deponent to apply to the Governor-General and Council to contract for erecting the same on a calculation then made by the said John Bayne of the amount of expense likely to be incurred in the erecting thereof. And this Deponent further says that the said John Bayne did propose to this Deponent to lay out the whole of the sum to be allowed for the said works on the said works. And this Deponent further says that the said John Bayne calculated the expense which would be incurred by erecting the said new works, and this Deponent did make proposals to the Governor-General and Council to perform the said works according to such calculation, but the said Governor-General and Council did not agree to allow to this Deponent any specific sum for the expenses of the said work, but did authorise this Deponent to erect the said new works and engaged to pay to this Deponent such sums in advance, so that no advances should on one occasion exceed five thousand sicca Rupees, as should be necessary for the same, he this Deponent accounting for such advances if required, not *upon honour*, as is mentioned in the said letter said to be written by the said Philip Francis, Esqr., but *upon oath*, as by the said renewed contract will fully appear. And this Deponent further says that he verily believes, the whole sums advanced for the said new works and more than such sums have been really and *bonâ fide* expended on the said new works as the said John Bayne who has acted during the terms of the said contract as sole agent for this Deponent has frequently declared to him this Deponent, that the whole of such advances and more has been so expended. And this Deponent further says that no profit, benefit or emolument whatsoever to the best of the knowledge and belief of this Deponent by any means whatsoever has been derived from the erecting of the said

Dobunds to this Deponent by the same, save and except as is expressed in the affidavit of the said John Bayne. And this Deponent further says that he has to the best of his knowledge fulfilled his contracts faithfully in every particular he having continually required his said sole agent to spare no expense whatsoever in keeping the Pools for the reparation of which he this Deponent has contracted in the best condition possible and the said John Bayne has from time to time assured this Deponent he has so done and has at different times brought in bills and vouchers for the same to a very high amount the whole of which accounts respectively both the old pools and the new works this Deponent is ready and willingly to subject to the inspection of the Governor-General and Council, and to verify the same on oath, as far as is within the knowledge of this Deponent. And this Deponent further says that no part whatever of the sum advanced for the said new works have been applied to the use of this Deponent. And this Deponent further says that he did request the said Sir Elijah Impey to apply to the Governor-General for his interest to procure the first contract to be renewed, and he the said Sir Elijah did promise this Deponent that he would do so, and this Deponent believes, that the said Sir Elijah did apply to the Governor-General on that behalf. And this Deponent further saith that he has seen a paper which he has been told is a copy of the letter which he has been informed was written by Philip Francis, Esq., herein before mentioned, by which this Deponent understand the said Philip Fancis meant to convey insinuations prejudicial to the said Sir Elijah Impey, wherefore this Deponent has thus disclosed upon oath all and every part that the Sir Elijah has acted with regard to the said contracts as far as it has come to the knowledge of this Deponent which he verily believes has proceeded solely from the friendship and affection which the said Sir Elijah has from his earliest childhood ever and uniformly entertained for this Deponent, and more particularly as the said Sir Elijah Impey when he was about to leave England and proceed to Bengal, requested this Deponent then a Chief Mate in the service of the East India Company to relinquish his pursuits in that line, and trust to the interest of the said Sir Elijah to provide for this Deponent in India which this

Deponent did accordingly. And this Deponent further says that the said Sir Elijah has been very solicitous as this Deponent believes to promote the interest of this Deponent, that as the education of this Deponent had not been such as qualified him for the higher and more lucrative offices in the Supreme Court (as the said Sir Elijah has often declared to this Deponent) the said Sir Elijah procured him this Deponent to be appointed sealer of the said court soon after its first institution, to which office a yearly salary of Arcot Rupees Two Thousand and no more is annexed and that this Deponent held no other office whatsoever in the Supreme Court until the month of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, when he was appointed Examiner in the said Court to which office a yearly salary of Arcot Rupees six thousand no more is annexed and that he has not at any time held any other office in the said Court except the offices above mentioned. And this Deponent further says, that the profits of the said two offices including fees and salaries after the necessary deductions for clerks and contingencies would not if this Deponent did not lodge and board gratis in the family of the said Sir Elijah be more than would be necessary to maintain him, this Deponent in decency and with common necessities. And this Deponent further saith that the said Sir Elijah Impey has not, or has any other person on his behalf or in trust for him, received directly or indirectly any profit, reward or emolument whatsoever for or on account of the said contracts or contract or of any offices or office, appointments or appointment, profits or profit made or held by this Deponent, and that the said Sir Elijah Impey has not received any promise, insinuation or hint from which the said Sir Elijah Impey can derive any expectation whatsoever, that he or any one for him shall in future be benefited by the same.

A. FRASER.

Sworn at Calcutta, the sixteenth
day of August 1782. Before me. J. HYDE.

The Affidavit of John Bayne Gentleman made before the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde on the sixteenth day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

John Bayne of Baugnan in the district of Burdwan Gentleman maketh oath and says that he has acted as Sole Agent to Archibald Fraser Gentleman for the carrying into execution a certain contract entered into with the Governor-General and Council of this Presidency by the said Archibald Fraser dated on or about the sixteenth of April in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight for repairing the Government Pools of the district of Burdwan as also a renewed contract entered into by the same parties bearing date the sixteenth day of February one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine; as well for the same purposes as for erecting certain new works and that he has so acted from the commencement of the said contracts to the present hour. That this Deponent did on or about the month of February one thousand and seven hundred and seventy-eight proceeded to the Province of Burdwan for the purposes of surveying and repairing the said Pools which he found in a ruinous condition and verily believes from the appearance they made that very small sums had been expended in repairing the same for the two preceding years, and this Deponent hath hereunto annexed an office copy of a Report dated the first day of February one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight by John Kinloch, Esqr., Superintendent of Poolbundy Repairs which appears of the said copy to have been made in consequence of an order of the Chief and Council of Burdwan. And this Deponent says that during the time the first year's repairs of the Pools were carrying on as well as after the same had, accordingly to the best of this Deponent's judgment and abilities been completely finished, the said Pools sustained considerable damage occasioned by various causes particularly by the extraordinary rains of the season and by the rapid torrents from the mountains both of which last mentioned causes were by the Ryots and others resident on the spot represented to this Deponent to have been more severe than during the four preceding years, which representation this Deponent believes to have been true.

And this Deponent further says that from the observations he had made on the inundations and from the probable had consequences to cultivation which he judged likely to ensue from the change of the course of particular parts of the Rivers that were then nearly approaching the Pools which were the object of the first contract, he this Deponent did then and now does believe that certain additional works called *Debunds* were necessary for the security of the cultivation of the country and did therefore on or about the month of December one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight advised the said Archibald Fraser to apply to the Governor-General and Council to contract for the erection of the said *Debunds*. And this Deponent did make a calculation to the best of this Deponent's judgment of the expenses necessary for erecting the same and did communicate the same to the said Archibald Fraser. And this Deponent further says that the erecting such new works formed no part of the works to be performed under the first contract as by the said two contracts will appear. And this Deponent further says that he did not include in such calculation any pecuniary reward for labour and trouble in superintending the erection of the same, either to the said Archibald Fraser or to him this Deponent, but that the whole of the money which should be allowed for the same should be expended on the said new works. And this Deponent further says that greater damages had been done to the Pools by inundations after this Deponent had first repaired the same than the said Archibald Fraser had reason to expect wherefore and because the said Archibald Fraser or his Agents would be at great additional trouble in erecting such new works he this Deponent did then and now thinks it was reasonable that the said first contract should be continued to the said Archibald Fraser for the space of three years beyond the first term of two years and did, therefore, advise the said Archibald Fraser to apply to the Governor-General and Council for the renewal of the first mentioned contract for the term of three years as aforesaid, and this Deponent further says that as Agent for the said Archibald Fraser he has from time to time according to the best of his skill kept the said Pools in good repair and has not where he has thought the same

necessary spared no expense for the due reparation of the same and has actually expended yearly and every year large sums of money in repairing the same as by the accounts of the disbursements of this Deponent will fully appear. And this Deponent further says that he hath received the whole of the money which was paid for the erection of the said new works and that not one Rupee thereof had passed through the hands of the said Archibald Fraser and that the whole of the same down to this day does not exceed the sum of forty thousand sicca rupees and that he this Deponent not only expended the whole of the same in the erecting of the said new works, but has disbursed a sum exceeding five thousand sicca rupees. And this deponent further says the said sum last mentioned still remains due in arrear to this Deponent, though by the terms of the renewed contract the said Archibald Fraser was entitled to receive the same in advance. And this Deponent further saith that he will not take upon him upon oath to say that the erecting the said *Debunds* have not eventually saved some expense in the reparation of the old pools, but on his oath says that so far from the whole real expense to be incurred for the reparation of the old Pools being covered by the renewed contract he had in erecting the same laid out large sums of money in the repairs of the said old Pools and that the whole saving of expenses in repairing the said old Pools during the whole period of the contract cannot amount to a larger sum than four thousand sicca rupees, though this Deponent verily believes that such savings have not amounted to the last mentioned sum. And this Deponent further says that he hath not accounted for the profits of the said contract with any other person but the said Archibald Fraser and that the said Deponent never did nor does believe that Sir Elijah Impey or any other person for or in trust for him or on his account directly or indirectly is benefited by the profits of the same. And this Deponent further says that the Accounts and Books of the said new works have been by him kept separate and distinct from the accounts and books of the money he disbursed for the annual repairs of the Pools the object of the first contract and that the said accounts and books contain a true and just account of all

moneys received and disbursed for and on account of the said new works and that it will appear from the said Books and Accounts that no part of the forty thousand sicca rupees received by him this Deponent nor of the sum which he now stands in advance has been applied for any other purpose whatever than that of erecting the said new works. That the said books have been made up by this Deponent from the commencement of the said new works down to the end of the Bengal year one thousand one hundred and eighty-eight which he this Deponent is ready and willing to lay before the Governor-General and Council on oath if required and will if so required so soon as the business of the present year one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine is finished with the utmost expedition make up the accounts thereof and in like manner if required lay the same on oath before the Governor-General and Council.

JOHN BAYNE.

Sworn at Calcutta the sixteenth day of August 1782.
Before me. J. HYDE.

To—ALEXANDER HIGGINSON, ESQ., Chief, etc., Provincial Council of Revenue, Burdwan.

GENTLEMEN,—In obedience to your orders of the 15th November last, I proceeded to make a circuit of the Bunds of this Province, and being now returned I beg leave to address you on the subject of my enquiry. Your instructions particularly pointed out to me to visit and inspect the Bunds in general, and especially those which had suffered during the last rainy season, to form an estimate of the expense which might be required for the ensuing repairs, and to ascertain the amount which has been disbursed during the last season; these duties I have endeavoured to fulfil as far as time and circumstances would admit, and shall now take the liberty to offer to you my observations upon the several points of your instructions. When I left Burdwan I proceeded to those Pergunnahs which are situated upon the Damooder, namely, Havilliah, Beligur, Boorsoot and Billiah. The Bunds of those Pergunnahs I inspected throughout, and found they had been so totally

neglected for the last two seasons that they were nearly on a level with the lands, and at those places where the current of the river particularly set, there were many and large breaches, by which considerable tracts of the adjoining lands had been totally inundated, and appeared waste and uncultivated. The Pergunnahs of Billiah being of a very low situation have suffered more considerably than some others, and except the large bunds of Boilah and Ampdah, there is not the appearance of any others for a tract of ten *coss*, in which space the ryotts themselves had used the only endeavours for the preservation of the lands which being very inadequate to the work, they suffered very much from the casualties of the season. The above large bunds extend also to nearly ten *coss* each and are (from breaches formed by the force of the river) a very small protection to the land in so much that the Pergunnah may now be deemed totally defenceless, these four Pergunnahs, from the course of the *Damooder* being winding, and forming itself into strong eddies, are particularly to be attended to in the repairs.

I next proceeded to Mundulghat and those Pergunnahs which are situated upon the Roopnarain, Selai and Cossai Rivers. The Bunds of Mundulghat being the largest and greatest extent of any in the Province, and the repair of it being so materially and immediately necessary for the preservation of the crops I was particularly attentive to its condition. The large Bund extends about nine *coss* upon these different rivers, and is the chief protection for their inundations; within this capital bund there are many lesser ones against the Nullahs and small water courses which branch from these rivers. In both the breaches are numerous but particularly in the large one, by which many extensive and valuable tracts of land have been totally ruined and their crops destroyed during the last rains. The ryotts, as the only means of preserving their property, exerted themselves very much in filling up the breaches as they were made, but their labour was so insufficient that at present the condition of the bund is very little improved by them; the state which I have thus exhibited of the principal and most extensive bunds I can

apply in a proportional degree to the whole, they being universally in such decay that the most speedy and substantial repair becomes absolutely necessary for the preservation of the revenue of a large and the most valuable part of the Province. The great expense which will now be incurred in this work must be attributed solely to neglect and inattention of the Raja's Officers for the last two years, because on that account the work now to be done becomes double to what it possibly could have been had the annual repairs been properly and regularly applied. Although the estimate of repairs which accompanies this address amounts to the sum of sicca Rupees 1,19,405-13-0, yet I conceive it not to be more than is absolutely necessary to put the Bunds once in a solid and substantial condition ; this being once effected, the annual expense of *Pool Bundy* will be greatly decreased and the Province perfectly defended from such inundation which have brought ruin on such numbers of the inhabitants and have proved of such detriment to the public revenue. The estimate which I have formed was collected in the course of my circuit from the Munduls and Conoys (or head labourers) of the several villages ; they have been constantly employed in the business of the repair and have a very competent and sufficient knowledge of the work ; the particular estimates as formed by them are too voluminous to be now translated, but for the information of the Board I enclose a translation of the estimate for the *pergunnah Chuttrah* which is similar to all the others and formed upon the same principles. In endeavouring to comply with your instructions for obtaining a knowledge of the expense incurred in the repairs of last season, I called upon the several darogahs who had been employed in that business, but found that they had all quitted the districts upon my going out and had carried with them every paper and person that could have given me any information ; the general intelligence I got from the inhabitants was that the Darogah was carried at that time to Burdwan by the Rajah's officers for the purpose of explaining their accounts and it appears to me to have been with a view of frustrating every attempt of mine to acquire the knowledge I was instructed to do.

The information I was able to obtain from the ryots and some Gomastahs (who had been employed by the Darogahs) together with my own observation proves that a very trifling part of the sum was applied to the repairs and that the greatest part has been embezzled. I beg leave to lay before you a translation of some petitions presented to me by the ryotts in the Pergunnah Boorsut, and it was confirmed to me such methods were used in every Pergunnah, the circumstances of which they are ready to prove if you shall think proper to call upon them.

I also beg leave to acquaint you that notwithstanding I was furnished with Purwarnahs to the Tanadars of the districts to attend me and render me every assistance in my progress, yet it was with some difficulty I could get them to attend and a few of those who did, it was with reluctance on their part that they afforded me assistance.

I beg leave to observe to you, Gentlemen, that there is time sufficient before the ensuing rains to put the Pools in proper repair, and whoever is entrusted with the work cannot plead want of time as an excuse for any neglect.

I am, Gentlemen, with respect,
your most obedient
servant,

JOHN KINLOCK,
Sup. the Pool Repairs.

BURDWAN }
1st February 1778. }

A true copy.

(Sd.) W. FARQUHARSON,
Actg. Secy.

A true copy.

(Sd.) W. WEBBER,
Secy., Rev. Dept.

Estimate of the advances absolutely necessary, to be expended this season for putting the Bunds of this Province in a thorough repair.

			Rs.	As.	P.
Guallaboom	...	...	1,033	8	0
Champanogony	...	...	214	8	0
Baggah	...	...	324	6	0
Havillah	...	...	2,109	0	0
Biligur	...	...	4,313	7	0
Boorsutt, New Pools	...	...	14,095	0	0
Billiah	"	...	24,531	0	0
Mundulghat	"	...	37,305	0	0
Chuttuah	...	...	11,103	0	0
Burdah, New Pools	...	...	7,408	0	0
Chunderconah	...	...	1,976	0	0
Jahanabad	...	...	1,920	0	0
Byrah	..	...	3,400	0	0
Chomuah	...	...	4,102	0	0
Hary Paul	...	...	73	0	0
Arssah	...	...	503	0	0
Momirshy	..	...	634	0	0
Ranihatti	.	...	161	0	0
Turrisff Guttaol	.	...	4,200	0	0

Total Sa. Rs. 1,19,401 13 0

E. E.

(Sd.) JOHN KINLOCK,

Supdt., Poolbandy Repairs.

TO THE HON'BLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

I have the honour of inclosing you a copy of a letter which I understand was written to your Select Committee by Philip Francis, Esqr., late a Counsellor of this Presidency. If I am irregular in my correspondence, I hope you will attribute it to my anxiety to refute in the most open manner insinuations

contained therein which are levelled at my reputation by innuendoes which cannot and which I do not wish to be misunderstood. This I am confident you will think fully done to your complete conviction by the two affidavits which I have annexed thereto.

To the truth of these affidavits as far as they relate to me, and that everything is set forth therein, which can in any wise concern me I am ready to add my own oath.

I have requested your Governor-General and Council to record the whole on their Proceedings and have taken the liberty of addressing the Court of Directors at large rather than your Select Committee to which Mr. Francis has addressed his letter that I may have as full a reparation for the injury which has been done me as the nature of the case will admit, by bringing to a more public attention not only my own vindication, but both the spirit and mode with which that gentleman has practised the conveying secret informations, much more calculated to defame than to accuse, to instill suspicion than to establish guilt.

That the reparation cannot be adequate to the injury I have received, I have to lament ; the writer of that letter knew as well as I do the force of first impressions, the weakness of defences made at a distant period and the improbability of their being read candidly, or even coming to the hands of all who have imbibed prejudices.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
your most obedient humble servant
(Sd.) E. IMPEY.

CALCUTTA,
8th August 1782.

S. C. SANIAL.

NEW BOOKS.

UNDER FIVE REIGNS—By Lady Dorothy Nevill (Methuen and Co.) is a most wholesome and pleasant volume of reminiscences and some idea of the very catholic interests of the distinguished authoress may be gleaned from the fact that in the volume are included letters from Matthew Arnold, J. A. Froude, Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Ouida, Cardinal Manning, Richard Cobden, Lord Lytton, Henry Irving, the late Duke of Cambridge, John Bright, Charles Darwin, and Justin McCarthy. The letters in many instances are profoundly interesting, occasionally touching on political or scientific matters of great importance yet redeemed from all stiltedness by their pleasant friendliness. The actual reminiscences of Lady Dorothy are written in a most unaffected and sympathetic manner and form a wholesome contrast to other somewhat notorious books of recollections which have been published by some of the great ladies who lived in the reigns of Queen Victoria and Edward VII. Lady Dorothy writes in vivid pleasant fashion on a thousand subjects—dress, politics, manners, fashions, scandals, household matters, animals, flowers—while the simple dignity of Victorian days is frequently contrasted with the magnificence and ostentation of later years when the *nouveau riche* began to invade aristocratic ranks. Many of the letters are well worthy of quotation. The following is a very human little document from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain :—

“Dear Lady Dorothy,” wrote the great statesman on 3rd November 1888, “I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you during the autumn session for a reason which I am sure you will recognise as a good one. When this reaches you I shall be half-way across the Atlantic and I don’t expect to return home till Christmas.

“I am going to the United States to marry Miss Endicott—one of those American girls whose importation into this country you once deprecated so strongly in my hearing. You

said 'I like the Americans very well, but there are two things I wish they would keep to themselves—their girls and their tinned lobster.'

"I am ready to give up the lobster so you must be prepared to like the girl.

Believe me, yours very truly,

J. CHAMBERLAIN."

Mr. Justin McCarthy wrote on 30th October 1911 :—

"My dear Lady Dorothy,—I send you—at last—the only souvenirs from Dublin of Parnell's funeral. I received them this morning. One represents the scene in the City Hall under the shadow of O'Connell's statue, the other the grave in Glasnevin. With kindest regards, very truly yours,

JUSTIN MCCARTHY."

Lady Dorothy Nevill also mentions having amongst her souvenirs a memorial card relating to the unfortunate Prince Imperial. "Upon it is inscribed 'He is gone and has left a stainless name behind, honoured and respected even by his adversaries'—words which, unlike a number of epitaphs, were absolutely true."

A story of King Louis of Bavaria is also quoted :—

"Resolving to relieve the needs of one of his poor but brave aide-de-camps he sent him a small portfolio, bound like a book, in which were deposited five hundred crowns. Some time afterwards he met the officer and said to him, 'Ah, well, how did you like the new work which I sent you?'"

"Excessively Sire," replied the officer. "I read it with such interest that I expect the second volume with impatience."

The king smiled and when the officer's birthday arrived he presented him with another portfolio, similar in every respect to the first, but with these words engraved upon it :—"This book is complete in two volumes."

FELIX CHRISTIE—By Peggy Webling (Methuen's Colonial Library) is a book to read, a book to appreciate and yet almost a book to be disappointed in. The authoress fails in consistency and the result is that the details of the pictures she presents are out

of harmony, very frequently, with the whole. Yet is the picture of the hero, Felix Christie, drawn with sincerity and insight, while his progress in a world which has rough lessons to teach roughly is sympathetically and carefully developed.

The character of Pearl Henning, who holds Felix Christie in thrall through her appeal to his senses, is weak, the improbability of such a girl dominating the fineness and tenderness of the man being too obvious while the "right woman" is treated rather cavalierly by Miss Webling. The stoic character of Christie's supposed mother is strongly indicated in the earlier chapters, but the *denouement* where the true facts of his birth are revealed lacks strength and conviction. In every sense the book seems one of but partial achievement, the characters have been but inadequately grasped and there is an indefiniteness in their actions which jars. With greater experience Miss Webling will probably write a notable book, free from the blemishes which militate against the real success of this volume.

THE SIGN—By Mrs Romilly Fedden (Macmillan and Co.)

conveys a wonderful picture of the romance and strangeness of the Breton landes and a strikingly original presentment of the life and aspirations of three artists who spend a summer at a small Breton village to paint. The three are perfect types, absolutely antagonistic in views, methods, outlook on life.

Two women figure largely in the book, the mystic peasant girl, Monik, who is obsessed with the idea that she must be crucified to atone for the sins of the village, and Teckla Dorven, who loves one of the painters with a lawless passion which ends in tragedy.

The character of Monik is poignantly pictured yet is there sufficient reserve to dignify the picture with strength and realism. Her case is a parallel one to Jean d'Arc and the heavenly voices, and no explanation is attempted in the book of Monik's death at the foot of the village cross with nail marks through the palms of her hands. If the book is somewhat gloomy it is yet unique,—as far from the commonplace and complacent

as a book can well be. The incident of the wandering beggars—the Guests of God—is dramatically used to intensify the strange atmosphere of the superstitious little Breton village.

THE VICTORIES OF OLIVIA—By Evelyn Sharp (Macmillan and Co.)

is a collection of short stories, some of which, we are told, have already appeared in *The Girls' Realm*. They make healthy reading matter for the young idea and have a pleasant charm of manner and a refreshing novelty of matter, but will scarcely be taken very seriously by the ordinary novel-reader. "Peggy and the Engineer-Man" is the lengthiest and most entertaining of the tales, and as a gift for a girl the volume could scarcely be bettered.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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The Review for July 1912. Editor.

The Moslem World for July 1912. Editor.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXXV.

October 1912.

No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCLXX.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 270.—OCTOBER 1912.

Art. I.—CHARLES DICKENS.

A CENTENARY RETROSPECT.

" A thing of beauty is a joy for ever :
Its loveliness increases ; it will never
Pass into nothingness ; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams and health and quiet breathing."

THE most magnificent name in the literature of Europe and the one instinct with the greatest amount of vitality is that of William Shakespeare. Both by reason of his historic importance and of his intrinsic worth, he provides us with the standard, by which we can carry on a comparative estimate of like authors and also judge these individually, with respect to their position in the world of letters. Of the Victorian writers there are three, Robert Browning, George Meredith and Charles Dickens, who, more than the others, approximate to, what we may call, this great "ideal" of ours. It is certainly not our purpose to institute any invidious comparison between these three great masters, for each is great in his own distinctive sphere of action. But we shall briefly survey, in this his hundredth year of existence, the place of Dickens in Literature and take note of his present hold upon the public mind. As a novelist, a dramatist, an actor, a journalist, a poet, as a

reader and a speaker,—in all these various capacities he appeared before his world, disclosing thereby a comprehensive outlook upon men and things, wide and far-reaching sympathy, a capacity for tragic thought, a wonderful freshness and geniality in his colossal humour and an exuberance of thought and language to which, at times, is applicable Ben Jonson's famous "Sufflaminandus erat." In all these Charles Dickens' resemblance to William Shakespeare is unmistakeable, and for all these he is one of the most imposing figures in the Victorian era of literature and the one with the longest lease of life.

To-day, after the lapse of a hundred years, we greet our dear old and ever fresh Boz—Boz, the avowed master of the English novel, the eloquent advocate of the social freedom of the dumb millions of his fellow human beings, the man who, above all others in a century of doubt and pessimism, exercised the most ennobling influence upon his readers, singing, with Browning,

"The lark's on the wing ;
 "The snail's on the thorn ;
 "God's in His heaven—
 "All's right with the wo 'd."

The brightness of his optimism filled his readers with a similar spirit, thus making it easier for the quick spreading and the almost unconscious adoption of the text of his gospel—"live and let live." And so the name of Dickens has become a charmed name ; everybody, from the haggard and ruffianly gold diggers of California to the hoary professor who dreams in Calculus, knows and revels in that world, in which is blent with "life's reality the hues of a rich fancy," wherein are found such diverse beings as Mr. Swiveller, Floy Dombey, poor Pip, and Simon Tappertit.

HIS EARLY DAYS.

On the 7th of February 1812 was born at Landport in Portsea Charles John Hongham Dickens.* The events of his childhood are too well known to require recounting, but no appreciation of the genius of a great man can be complete without a consideration of some of those incidents which may be said to form "dates" in his life; for, however much his later days may influence the growth of his powers, yet it is in his boyhood that his intellect takes its own peculiar trend. This period of the life of Dickens, chequered as it was, yet discloses facts which in themselves may be said to be prophetic of his future greatness.

It is recorded by a certain Mrs. Gibson that, as early as 1819, when in his seventh year, he was taught by the conjoint efforts of his mother and aunt, to read and write. His delight was very great when, one fine day, he discovered in the garret of their house a collection of novels, including "Tom Jones," "Gil Blas," "Don Quixote," "Robinson Crusoe" and others. These, said David Copperfield *alias* Charles Dickens, kept alive his fancy and did him no harm. It is odd to reflect, at this distant date, on the fact that the first books he alighted upon should be the great masterpieces of the world.

One of Charles' earliest playmates was a boy, somewhat his senior, named George Stronghill and it is surmised that some of his qualities, his daring and frankness, for example, found embodiment in the future Steerforth. But what is of greater interest to us, at this point, is a little sister he had—a little girl with bright blue eyes and beautiful golden locks—and her name

* The house in Mile End Terrace is now a Dickens' Museum.

was Lucy. Young Romeo fell in love with her at first sight—for, who ever loved that loved not at first sight? History records further that his Juliet requited his love. Dickens cherished with great fondness the recollection of this Platonic gallantry of his. The example of Lucy Manette, with the golden hair and blue eyes, is too striking to be a coincidence in the life-story of an essentially realistic genius. "I can well remember," he said later, "being taken out to visit some peach-faced creature in a blue sash and shoes to correspond, whose life, I supposed, to consist entirely of birthdays; upon seed cakes, sweet wines and shining presents that glorified young person seemed to me to be exclusively reared. At so early a stage of my travels did I assist at the anniversary of her nativity (and he became enamoured of her) that I had not yet acquired the recondite knowledge that a birthday is the common property of all who are born, but supposed it to be a special gift bestowed by the favouring heavens upon that distinguished infant. There was no other company, with her and we sat under a shady bower—under a table as my better (or worse) knowledge leads me to believe—and we were regaled with saccharine substances till it was time to part." A unique chapter in the history of love-making, this; further comment is dumb.

His life at school, though very short, was as happy as he could have desired and he ever looked back with extreme fondness upon this period of his life. Yet, for Mr. Jones the headmaster and his educational system he professed no veneration, and one of his tasks, when he came to sway his world with his pen, was to expose the fraudulency of mere money-making educational concerns. In the course of a speech on 'Schools' in 1857, he pointed out the schools he

did not like and amongst these stood foremost the type he himself had attended, "the respected proprietor of which was by far the most ignorant man he had ever had the pleasure to know ; and one of the most worse-tempered men, perhaps, that ever lived, whose business it was to make as much out of the boys and put as little into them as possible." It will be seen that this exposure was three years before the great Newcastle Commission of Enquiry, which did so much for popular education in England and it will not be forgotten that Mr. Squeers and the Dotheboys Hall were brought back to life in the course of the years 1838-1839. Institutions, such as he had attended, were pernicious humbugs and he never lost his ancient suspicion concerning the curious coincidence that the boy with the four brothers to come obtained all the prizes. Before entering the *Wellington House Academy* of Mr. Jones, he was sent to get a card of terms. Arriving there he found the Principal engaged upon the work of carving for a pack of hungry-looking boys ; that potentate looking like a German butcher wearing a pair of linen covers over his sleeves. There were two other masters of any note. The Latin master was somewhat deaf and stuffed his ears with onions and the dancing master suffered from obesity and various other complaints of a like character.

In this mighty establishment almost every boy was a fancier and "trained his pet better than his masters trained their boys." These youthful fanciers were of a really fanciful nature, their pets ranging from the canary to the white mouse and the habitations of these from desks to hat boxes. One white mouse was of a peculiarly classic temperament, staying, as it did, in a refuge made from the cover of a Latin dictionary, and

performing various feats of skill and strength. ' This prodigy "ran up ladders, drew Roman chariots, shouldered muskets, turned wheels and even made a very creditable appearance on the stage as the Dog of Montajes. He might have achieved greater things, but for having had the misfortune to mistake his way in a triumphal procession to the Capitol, when he fell into a deep inkstand, was dyed black and drowned."

After about two years these halcyon days came to an end and this was a time fraught with much meaning for his future career. Though he was taught little, yet he learnt to live with zest; he observed the freaks and humours of school life, as well as its more serious points. His mind became receptive and observant. It was a period dear to him—dear as his very life. "Ah me, ah me," he says, "no other ghosts has haunted the boys' room, my friends, than the ghost of my own childhood, the ghost of my own innocence!"

HIS BEGINNINGS.

After leaving school Dickens became a reporter. He has left us many interesting and humorous sketches about this phase of his life. His career as a teller of tales stretches back to almost his prehistoric days—certain tragedies, one of them entitled "Misnar, the Indian Sultan," being achieved at the mature age of eight or ten. Moreover, during his school days, to his other exploits, he had added that of a story-teller. But his true beginnings as a man of letters or what we may call his *début* in the world of literature did not take place till 1835, the first publication being a sketch, "Mr. Minus and his Cousin," in the *Old Monthly Magazine*. Others followed and subsequently some

appeared in the evening edition of the *Morning Chronicle*. One cannot claim very much for these first attempts, yet on the whole their success was great as we learn from contemporary evidence. But with growing confidence his abilities were not slow in their development. "He was the first," it has been truly said, "to unite the delicately playful thread of Charles Lamb's street musings—half experiences, half bookish phantasies—with the vigorous wit and humour and observation of Goldsmith's 'Citizen of the World' and twine them together in that golden cord of essay, which combines literature with philosophy, humour with morality, amusement with instruction."

These sketches appeared under the pseudonym of "Boz."* The adoption of this quaint name gave rise to much speculation, giving rise later on to the famous epigram :

"Who the dickens 'Boz' could be
Puzzled many a curious elf;
Till unveiled the mystery
And 'Boz' appeared Dickens' self."

Tom Hood's appreciation of Boz in the character of an uneducated poet is refreshingly ingenious—

Arn't that 'ere Boz a tip-top feller!
Lots write well, but he writes Weller!

DICKENS AND THE STAGE.

"The fever of the footlights," wrote Mr Henry Fielding Dickens in 1906, "was always with him." That he was *born* with the true dramatic instinct in him there is no reason to doubt. From his very childhood this tendency was fostered in one way or another,

* Boz was the domestic 'pet name of a younger brother derived from Moses, Boses, Boz.

incidentally or with a purpose; and were it not for a curious accident the civilized world would have lost, if not its greatest, yet its most beloved novelist. The incident is given in full in Forster, but the main facts of the case are that at about the self-conscious age of twenty, when he could scarcely be said to have found his real vocation, he applied to the manager of the Covent Garden "in the hope of getting a show." The aspirant was offered a chance and a trial day was fixed, when fortunately he was laid up with a severe cold and face-ache. Although he was promised another opportunity in the coming season, yet he made no further overtures. In the interval Charles Dickens had found his true self.

We have said that his love for the stage could be traced back to very early times and have also referred to "Misnar, the Indian Sultan." Young as he was at this time, his reading was considerable, and as a result of this, imbued with the spirit of the books he read, his vivid imagination would make him impersonate the heroes for days and days. At other times, in conjunction with his companions, he would act some particularly striking thing he had come across. Mrs. Gibson relates a typical fact in this connection. After describing the young peoples' coming downstairs with the rush of a whirlwind and asking her to clear the kitchen, she goes on to say: "Then George Stronghill would come in with his magic lantern and they would sing and recite and perform parts of plays. Fanny and Charles sang together at this time, Fanny accompanying on the pianoforte." The favourite piece for elocution at this period was Dr. Watts' "Voice of the Sluggard."

During these years his parents, being in tolerably

good circumstances, would take the children out to the Theatre Royal. "Once," said the novelist, "I was brought from some remote country parts in the dark ages of 1819 and 1820 to behold the splendours of a Christmas pantomime and the humours of Joe Grimaldi, in whose honour I am informed I clapped my hands with great precocity." During his life at school in Wellington House Academy, we come across various facts which exhibit the dramatic side of his nature. Amongst others, two stand prominent. The first is about a lingo which he invented by the addition of a few letters of the same sound to every word and "it was our ambition," wrote a friend of his, "walking and talking thus along the streets to be considered as foreigners." The second is about his wonderful capacity of getting up school actings. On occasions he would go to the undramatic extent of acting in the streets. He and his playmates would masquerade as beggar boys asking people, especially old ladies, for charity, and when the old ladies would be thoroughly taken aback by their impudent demands, the young actors led by their hero would burst out laughing and disappear, leaving the aged victims to collect their wits and speculate upon the nature of the event.

Then, in his manhood to atone for his thwarted ambition, he devoted himself to private theatricals. Many were the occasions that he appeared before the footlights as an amateur. It was in 1836, and not in 1842, at Montreal, that he first took a part in a public performance at "St. James's." But his first real success did not come till 1845, in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in His Humour." The play-bill itself, the only relic of this performance, save a few voices from the past, is very interesting.

"A Strictly private Amateur Performance."

At the St. James's Theatre (By favour of Mr. Mitchell)

Will be performed Ben Jonson's Comedy of

EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR.

CHARACTERS.

Knowell	...	...	Henry Mayhew.
Edward Knowell	...	...	Frederick Dickens.
Brainworm	...	...	Mark Lemon.
Willfred	...	...	Dudley Costello.
Kitely	...	...	John Forster.
Captain Bobadil	...	...	Charles Dickens.
Master Stephen	...	...	Douglas Jerrold.
*	*	*	* *

Justice Clement	...	...	Frank Stone.
Dame Kitely	...	...	Miss Fortescue.
Mistress Bridget	...	...	Miss Hinton.
Tib	...	...	Miss Bew.

To Conclude with a Farce, in One Act, called

"TWO O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING."

Mr. Snobbington	...	...	Mr. Charles Dickens.
The Stranger	...	...	Mr. Mark Lemon.

Previous to the play, the overture to *William Tell*.
Previous to the farce, the overture to *La Gazza Ladra*.

His Royal Highness Prince Albert has been pleased to express his intention to honour the performance with his presence."

Dickens' rendering of his part was characteristic and Leslie of the Royal Academy took a portrait of him just when Captain Bobadil shouts out

"A gentleman! Odds so, I am not within."

Act I. 3.

Such was Dickens the actor and it is odd to contemplate that had it not been for a lucky accident the curious reader of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—one of those prodigies of Smiles—would have found an unpretentious entry therein, something to this effect:—"Charles Dickens born 1812 of poor parents, an actor of great note in his day. His famous representations were etc., etc., d. 1870."

AS A NOVELIST.

The fame of Dickens rests upon his novels, it is superfluous to say at this date. And to-day, looking back into the past, can we say that this fame has increased or the contrary? Much has been said upon this subject, but there is one factor common to all these various sentiments. Nobody, whose opinion is of any worth, has ever asserted that during these years his fame has decreased or is likely to do so for any considerable length of time, for the simple reason that Dickens appeals to the human heart, that heart as it was created by its Maker, stripped of exterior encrustations and man-made barriers. That human heart is ever the same and if one generation of men could be enlivened by his productions and if they could shed bitter tears over them, why should the next be unable to do so? On the contrary there are reasons for the increase of his popularity. To-day we find Dickens more popular than ever. The fact of the matter briefly stated, is that, on the first burst of glory of a writer of the character of Dickens, the degree of his fame is directly dependent upon the way he arouses our emotions. If this excitation, so to say, has reached its maximum limit, the claims of the author to our further regard will be questions of intellect. But we must remember the order. The emotional appeals,

by reason of their directness, are immediate ; the intellectual appeals, being subject to a slower process of working, come later. So with Dickens, in his own day, with the publication of his works, the readers or at least the vast majority of them, were impressed largely from the standpoint of the emotions ; later on, however, the element of reason, in criticism, gained the ascendancy, people began, to use Matthew Arnold's term, to consult their *literary conscience*. And the result we all know. Dickens, the writer, has become greater than ever, the psychological force of his word-paintings being recognised and the essential justness of all that he says being clearly perceived. All these have gone a great way towards making him a world-read author. Thus, we see that the tightening of the hold of Dickens upon our minds is largely an explicable fact, in spite of his unparalleled popularity during his life-time, which then gave rise to gloomy forebodings as to his future. Yet it must be remembered that in the process we have indicated, no such *clear* separation of function is possible ; the *exercises* going always hand in hand. The only distinction is that at times one predominates over the other, thus making possible a comprehensible separation. As school-boys, on reading him, we were carried away by our feelings mostly ; growing older we began to take a saner view of his works. This is a fact, which every reader of Dickens, perfectly knows. Further, what happens with an individual happens also with nations. And thus to-day the name of Dickens is mightier than ever.

Now, coming down to particulars, we must discover the key to the greatness of Dickens. We think that it is the possession of four characteristics, above others, which make him what he is,—these being the fertility of

his invention, his command over the pathetic, his humour and his pre-eminent power of sympathetic thought. As to the first, if mere numbers were the test of genius, the 1,425 * characters of Dickens, would carry the day against almost all modern authors. But it is by the variety and vitality of his productions that he must be judged. The horrible Mr. Quilp; the mighty Sam Weller, whose name was spelt according to the tastes and fancies of the speller; the inimitable Mr. Micawber, who was always looking out for something to turn up; Mr. Gowan, whose genius was of that agricultural kind which applies itself to the cultivation of wild oats; the classic Cornelia and Feeder B.A.;—all these eloquently testify to his freshness and originality. His thought never moves in one groove, he never repeats himself.

As for his humour and pathos, one at times finds a keen resemblance between him and the great Elizabethan Masters. The famous lines of Gray to Shakespeare are, clearly, applicable to him when he rises to his heights:—

“Thine too these golden keys, immortal Boy
This can unlock the gates of joy,
Of horror that and thrilling fears
Or the sacred source of sympathetic tears.”

The death of little Paul Dombey is one of the most moving things in literature. There is no slabbering, no going into hysterics; it is pure and simple passion, straight from the heart, without the slightest tinge of the melodrama.

“The last perfection of our faculties,” says Schiller, “is that their activity, without ceasing to be sure and earnest, become *sport*.” With Dickens this “sport” was always gentle and genial, never caustic or personal. He was humorous because he was full of life and saw

* Such is the estimate made out by a writer in Cassell's Penny Magazine.

things from many fantastic angles. The ancient charge of malice, based upon the character of Harold Skimpole as a copy of Leigh Hunt is an evident misrepresentation. Dickens, as we know, protested against and exonerated himself from, this imputation, to the satisfaction of all. He had what may be called, a "large mass of soul;" and this brings us to our next point, namely, that of his width of sympathy. Such broad heart-felt sympathy for his fellow-men has seldom been witnessed. And this it is, above every other quality, that is the immediate parent of his success. He could, with sincerity, feel for others, he had a tear for every tale of woe and a fund of mirth for joyful occasions.

The charges of want of scholarship, of gentility and of artistic skill are antiquated and need no answer, save that, over and above the fact of being irrelevant they are incorrect, to say the least. If the lack of a strictly classical education were to lower the worth of the great men of the world, the world to-day would indeed be poor. As to the lack of gentility, all that we can say is that the accusation almost deserves a libel action. The last item on the charge-sheet is as well unfounded but has this much truth, that at times, he does fall below his usual level of art. But this is attributable to the quantity of his productions. What strike us as being real defects are his repetitions, his diffuseness and his tendency to "lecture" his readers;—even* in these, all that we can say is that he is not quite *modern*.

BOZ AND THE MUSE.

Strangely enough the name of Dickens is seldom if ever, associated with Poetry. Yet it is but natural that a prose-writer of almost unrivalled eloquence, of

powers of varied invention, of lofty and idealistic sentiments should occasionally encroach upon the domains of Poesy. The genius of the first novelist of the nineteenth century has always been held in solemn reverence. It was genius that was, as we have said, peculiarly his own. Pictures from real life and no mere phantasms constituted its instruments of work, human nature was its stage for operations ; with human sufferings were its sympathies, but divine in its very essence were its inspirations. His was a nature truly poetic. But what is poetry ? It is the ebullition of the highest forms of the passions, now chiming in our ears through the rhythmic march of verse, now finding an outlet through a rhymeless source. Verse is by no means an essential factor of true poetry. Therefore, it is evident that the manifestations of the poetic spirit may be varied and this variation is directly dependent upon the message that the poet conveys. The gospel of Dickens was for the poor and hence it generally took the form of prose—the form best suited to the comprehension of his listeners.

In 1842, Dickens wrote a prologue for Westland Marston's tragedy of the "Patrician's Daughter." The beauty and the truth of the piece not only impressed the audience, as we learn from contemporary evidence with the scope and the moral of the Tragedy, but appealed, by reason of its universal audience, to a vaster audience—the world. We quote a few lines :—

"No tale of streaming plumes and harness bright
 Dwells on the poet's maiden theme to-night.
 Awake the Present ! Shall no scene display
 The tragic passion of the present day ?
 Is it with man as with some meaner things
 That out of death his solemn purpose springs ?

• • • •

Awake the Present ! What the Past has sown
 Is in its harvest garner'd, reap'd and grown.
 How pride engenders pride and wrong breeds wrong
 And truth and falsehood hand in hand along
 High places walk in monster-like embraced
 The modern Janus of the Double face ;

• • • • •
 Learn from the lesson of the present day,
 Not light its import nor poor its mien
 Yourselves the actors, your homes the scenes."

It would argue nothing but stupidity to assert that these could come from the pen of a mere versifier. The impressiveness of the truth, the vividness of the representation, the gracefulness of the all-pervading harmony ; all these, in happy and effective concert, point to the true nature of the verses and make it a pardonable fault, in that exultation resulting from the first reading, to confound these lines with some of the stanzas of the "Moral Essays" of Pope. For in truth, saving that extremely meritorious neatness, that *un*-Dryden-like polish, one fails to perceive in what respect this little piece can be inferior to the best thought and best-laboured passages of Pope.

We now come to his lyrics and songs, which for their unequalled tenderness and exquisite melody could have figured among the best of the land had their author cared to reprint them. We refer especially to the beautiful pieces in the *Village Coquettes*. "Love is not a feeling to pass away" and "Autumn Leaves" are exquisitely fresh and are tinged with a lovely dash of melancholy.

"Autumn leaves, autumn leaves lie strewn around me here,
 Autumn leaves, autumn leaves how cold, how sad, how drear.
 How like the hopes of childhood's days thick clustering on the bough,
 How like those hopes in their decay how faded are they now."

Yet another feature, as unique as is beautiful, in

which Dickens characterized himself in his poetic aspect is his interweaving of poetic harmony into his prose, not to mention the poetic spirit. Who has not felt the death of Little Nell as a personal loss? Who has not sat dumb, shedding bitter tears after reading that solemnly sublime passage, depicting with heart-rending pathos and in the measured roll of poetry, the death and burial of the little child? The passage, in question, is composed in irregular metre and rhythms and much like some pieces of Shelley, written in a similar strain.* Sir Francis Marzials, the sanity of whose judgment is worthy of our highest regard, is carried away by a critical rather than any beauty-discerning spirit, when he asks whether the passages referred to possess the real rhythm of poetry. We answer that whatever metre they may be written in, they not only satisfy the demands of poetic harmony but also those that constitute our conception of poetic imagination. And then when we consider that these without any alteration of language can be arranged in metrical form, what before was rank weed, comparatively speaking, is now turned into a verdant pasture; out of the leaden casket appears the image of Portia. The metre in these cases must be regarded with a liberal view; or else much of otherwise good poetry would descend to the level of common-place prose. Some of the most glorious exhibitions of the poetic spirit would, under such circumstances, be excluded from the realm of poetry. Let us judge for ourselves.

“And now the bell, the bell
 She had so often heard by night and day
 And listen'd to with solemn pleasure
 Almost as a living voice
 Rung its remorseless toll for her
 So young, so beautiful, so good.”

* This fact was first noticed by R. H. Horne in his “New Spirit of the Age.”

The Battle of Hastings is one of the finest pieces of descriptive writing of Dickens. It comes, of course, in the "Child's History." The last few touches, when the battle is done and the soldiers with torches walk among the dead seeking for the body of dead Harold, furnish us with a splendid specimen of Dickens' poetry.

A blundering admixture of prose and poetry, these have been called. But both the nature and the form of these, as before shown, are essentially poetic. We emphasize the fact that in these there is no prose at all, although it is from the midst of prose that they shine. It is psychologically true, so says Bain, that we are unable to adapt ourselves always to the varying exigencies of prose, rhythm and feel accordingly the simplicity of a poetic measure to be a relief. Thus when Dickens imparts to his so-called prose the rhythmic march of verse, he, in accordance with the foregoing view, but satisfies the needs of nature and the demands of poetry.

Again Sir Francis Marzials remarks that "Dickens himself knew that he had a tendency to fall into blank verse in moments of excitement and tried to guard against it." We must, in opposition to the biographer's view, lay another construction on the foregoing fact, namely, that the unconscious lapsing into blank verse, in impassioned moments, is an evidence of the inborn poetic spirit of Dickens. For, with all poets, poetry is not a purpose but a passion and "the passions," says Poe, "should be held in reverence; they must not, they cannot at will be excited with an eye to the paltry compensations or the more paltry commendations of mankind."

The keynote to Dickens' poetry is his possession of what Wordsworth calls "the breath and finer spirit

of all knowledge." And indeed the gospel that he preaches is an interpretation of ideal truth, a revelation of the eternal, one that glows with reverent submission to the Divine will, one that is instinct with sympathy for his fellow-sufferers. In fact his text is—

"The One remains, the many change and pass,
Heaven's light forever shines, earth's shadows fly"

We have shown that at heart he was a true poet, yet, contradictory as it may seem, we assert that he cannot be assigned a place amongst the acknowledged poets of the country. His wholehearted devotion to another branch of literature and the consequent fewness of his metrical efforts, must account for this. Yet, whether, in the occasional character of a typical poet or in that of a novelist poet, he seldom fails to inspire all with the magic-like charm of his utterances.

DICKENS THE MAN.

A few words more remain to be said. We have not spoken of his public reading, so famous in his own day,—these were for his contemporaries and not for posterity. It will not be a difficult task to picture in our minds Charles Dickens, as he lived and moved. In personal appearance he was not an Adonis, yet his features and general bearing bore the stamp of the "aristocracy of intellect" about them. Brightness and a spirit of entering into all kinds of life were his pre-eminent qualities. And he carried his heart with him, not to exhibit its fine, large proportions, but to make use of it, as occasions arose. He has left us his own likeness in the pictures that he painted. If Shakespeare can be said to have lent his likeness to Prospero, one may draw a fairly accurate picture of Dickens by a combination of some of his

creations—a kind of composite photograph. And even then much would be left to our imagination. A whole-hearted devotion to the work in hand, a most thorough hatred of sham, a generous and noble nature, one

“ Whose carol is an allegory fine

The burden of whose chimes is holy and benign,”

such was Charles Dickens the man.

He is dead these fifty years or so, yet what a mockery it is to speak of Charles Dickens as dead. Other men of genius there are, some of whom are admired, others respected like living beings after their own day; but few, very few are loved as household gods, such as he. For, among other things, his were words, as a contemporary wrote,

“————Which rouse up all

The dormant good among us found

Like drops that from a fountain fall

To bless and fertilize the ground.”

N. C. LEHARRY.

Art. II.—SOME ILLUSTRATED WORKS ON INDIA.

OF James I. we are told that he "wished he could be chained to a shelf in the Bodleian." Among the many pleasures derived from a well-equipped library, books containing actual delineation of scenes and events set forth in the text are specially interesting to the average reader. Here, both pen and pencil impart instruction as well as amusement, rendering of little account Pope's disparaging couplet in the *Dunciad*, in regard to illustrated books, where

"...the pictures for the page atone,
And Quarles is saved by beauties not his own."

We propose to notice a few of the more important illustrated works on India from the point of view of the ordinary reader rather than that of the artist or librarian. The outlook does not, of course, claim to be an exhaustive one. For instance, we do not include religious and scientific works, such as Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, Gould's *Birds of Asia*, Gray's *Indian Zoology*, Fayrer's *Thanatophidia of India*, and Raja Sir Saurindramohan Tagore's *Hindu Ragas* (to mention a few instances), nor recent works most of which are illustrated from photographs.

BOOKS OF VIEWS.

Of books of views, one of the earliest is that of William Hodges. R. A. The son of a blacksmith, Hodges was born in 1744. He became a draughtsman in connection with Captain Cook's second expedition (1772-75), after which he was engaged by the Admiralty in superintending the engraving of his drawings. In 1778, he came out to India under the

patronage of Warren Hastings and during the next five years painted a number of scenes in Bengal for Hastings as well as for Augustus Cleveland, Collector and Judge of the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Rajmehal. After the latter's death in 1784 some twenty of Hodges' views in these districts were sold. On his return to England that same year he took with him a number of his paintings, of which a set was executed in aquatint by himself and printed for the author in 1786 under the title of *Select Views in India*, drawn on the spot in 1780-83, with descriptive text. It contains forty-eight plates (all drawn and engraved by himself) consisting of views in the Bengal Presidency. This is perhaps the earliest series of aquatints dealing with India and, although none of them actually relate to Calcutta itself, there are several of places in the immediate vicinity, such as the view of Chinsura, then a Dutch settlement. Mr. Martin Hardie thus refers to Hodges' work in his *English Coloured Books*: "His sketches are bold and coloured by hand with a freedom that makes them practically original water-colours. The colouring indeed serves to suppress rather than employ and accentuate the aquatint ground." Humboldt in his *Cosmos* says that the sight of Hodges' Indian views was one of the inducements which led him to travel. A peculiarity of the pictures is the freshness of the water-colours. Hodges also published, in London, *A Comparative View of the Ancient Monuments in India*, and an account of his *Travels in India* during the years 1780-83 with plates from his own drawings. His paintings are still preserved at Daylesford. Hastings was more proud of them than of his "old masters" for, as has already been stated, he had entertained and encouraged the artist when he visited him in Calcutta. Hodges was elected

an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1786 and R. A. in the following year. He died in 1797, aged 54.

Among the *Eight Water-Colour Views and Sketches in Indian Ink* published by James Connor, an ensign in the 17th Battalion of Sepoys, is one of the "Hindu Ceremony of Huson Hawson" (?) and another of Calcutta near the Old Fort (1784).

Between 1795 and 1808 were published the six sections of Thomas and William Daniell's great work *Oriental Scenery* (one hundred and forty-four plates and nine plans)—"the finest illustrated work ever published on India," including six plates relating to Calcutta. Accompanying these prints was an octavo volume of descriptive text. The following advertisement appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 22nd October, 1795 :—

"Proposals for publishing the following Twenty-four views in Hindostan from the drawing of Mr. Thomas Daniell, to be engraved by himself. On the delivery of the last pair of views, the subscriber will be presented with such a description as may be necessary to the elucidation of each plate.

CONDITIONS.

"The size of the plates 25 inches by 19, the price to subscribers for the views, *if subscribed for and delivered in England*, per pair one guinea and a half, coloured by Mr. Daniell in the manner of the original drawings : to be paid for on delivery. The first pair will be ready in the month of March 1795, and every two months, until the whole are completed.

"And if subscribed for and delivered in India, the price for the twenty-four views, will be two hundred (sicca) rupees ; half the subscriptions to be paid upon the delivery of the first twelve views, which will certainly be sent out to India by the earliest ships of the season 1796.

"Those gentlemen who would wish to become subscribers in England, are requested to leave their names with Mr. Daniell,

No. 37, Howland Street, Fitzroy-Square, where the drawings may be seen; or at Mr. Bowyer's, the Publisher, Historic Gallery, Pall Mall; And in India, those gentlemen who would wish to become subscribers, are requested to leave their names with Messrs. Cockerell, Traill and Co. or Mr. Holmes, at Calcutta; and Messrs. Porcher, Redhead and Co., at Madras."

The engravings were in aquatint, coloured in imitation of paintings. The work contains views of palaces, cities, mountains, rivers and forest scenery, illustrations of the rock-cut temples of Ellora, other Hindu antiquities of the Deccan and Southern India, as well as the Mahomedan palaces, mosques and tombs in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces.

Thomas Daniell, the son of an inn-keeper at Chertsey, was born in 1749. He first exhibited at the Academy about 1774, and continued to do for ten years before turning to the East and devoting himself for the rest of his life to oriental subjects. A nephew by name William, then a lad of fourteen, accompanied him to India. They sketched many parts of the country which had not before been represented. For some time they both painted Indian views. Five of the six volumes of *Oriental Scenery* were engraved in mezzotint by William's own hand or under his immediate supervision. While in Calcutta, Thomas published a series of views of this city (1786-88) drawn and engraved by himself. They are perhaps the earliest "street" views of Calcutta, and probably represent the artist's earliest efforts in aquatint engraving—a process then in its infancy, but which he and his nephew brought to great perfection in after years. The uncle persevered steadily in his Eastern vein, but the nephew was also successful in English views. Returning to India later on, he, in 1832, painted (with

some assistance) a panorama of the city of Madras and afterwards (by himself) another of Lucknow, with a representation of the method of taming elephants. Thomas Daniell was elected R. A. in 1799 and William in 1822. The former died in 1840 at the great age of 91 years, and the latter in 1837, aged 68. Mention should not be omitted of a third member of this talented family. William Daniell had a younger brother named Samuel, who painted in Africa and Ceylon. From his sketches William published a book called *Views of Bhootan*. Samuel Daniell died in Ceylon in 1811, aged 36.

A most notable book is Blagdon's *History of India*, published in 1805 by Edward Orme, of Bond Street, London. For appended to it is a collection of over 68 plates of imperial folio size, coloured from the original drawings of Thomas Daniell, Colonel F. S. Ward and Lieutenant J. Hunter. To quote a descriptive catalogue: "these grandly illustrated works (bound up into one) produced by the combined skill of the engraver and the artist, have rarely been equalled and probably never surpassed in their effective beauty."

There is in the Imperial Library a slim volume of views in Madras by the celebrated artist George Chinnery (1807). This copy is specially interesting as it belonged to the once well-known publisher Edward Orme, and, as the inscription shows, was "sent him by his brother from Madras."

Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, has been pictorially described by Henry Creighton, who, in 1817, published *The Ruins of Gaur*, described and represented in eighteen coloured views. When still very young Creighton entered, in 1783, the service of Charles Grant, who at that time was holding the post of Commercial

Resident at the East India Company's factory in the Malda district, for providing silk and cotton piece-goods and raw silk, within a few miles of the site of Gaur. Mr. Grant having established a manufactory of indigo at Gaurmatty among the ruins of that famed city, employed Creighton to superintend it, and there the latter remained from 1786 until his premature death in 1807, about the fortieth year of his age. It may be added that the ruins of the ancient capital of Bengal were subsequently photographed by Mr. J. H. Ravenshaw, B.C.S., Magistrate and Collector at Malda. After his death they were published (1878) in a work entitled *Gaur: its ruins and inscriptions*, the descriptive letter-press being adapted by his widow from the writings of Francklin and Blochmann.

Between the years 1826 and 1830 was published, in London, a work in six parts, entitled the *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture, chiefly on the Western side of India*, by Captain R. M. Grindlay of the East India Company's Bombay Army. The various appointments which he successively held during his eighteen years' service in India afforded him special advantages in collecting his materials, and his work illustrates with fidelity a large portion of the country hitherto undescribed. One of the plates represents the shaking minarets of the fine mosque erected at Ahmedabad by Sultan Ahmed early in the 15th century. The minarets are so called, explains Captain Grindlay, on account of an architectural phenomenon, namely, the vibration produced in them by a slight exertion of force at the arch in the upper gallery, which is communicated from one to another, although there is no perceptible agitation of the part connecting the two on the roof of the building. Colonel Monier-Williams found that every

perfect pair of stone minarets throughout the city of Ahmedabad possessed the same peculiarity. Among the most beautiful of Grindlay's views (which space will not permit us to describe) is that of the great excavated temple at Ellora. In one of the well-known "Noctes Ambrosianae" by Professor John Wilson (published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1827), this work forms the subject of a dialogue—Christopher North observing: "Captain Grindlay's admirable representations bring back a thousand dreams to my mind . . . I have been assuredly quoting the Captain, who writes as well as he draws. Pen, pencil, or sword, come alike to the hand of an accomplished British officer."

Captain Robert Elliott, R.N., made a series of sketches taken on the spot, of views of India and other countries. These were published by Fisher in 1830-3 under the title *Views in the East*, comprising India, Canton and the Red Sea, with historical and descriptive letterpress by Miss Emma Roberts. The same lady edited Lieutenant G. F. White's *Views in India*, chiefly among the Himalaya mountains, 1836-7. The work, which included representations of the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges, is dedicated to H. M. Queen Adelaide, Consort of William IV.

In 1833 appeared *A Series of Twenty-eight Panoramic Views of Calcutta*, extending from Chandpal Ghat to the end of Chowringhee Road, together with the Hospital, the two Bridges, and the Fort by William Wood, Junior. The work, which is of imperial folio size, was published by William Wood, London, and dedicated to the then Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. These lithographs represent the principal buildings of Calcutta which existed at the time. Here we have, for example, the Supreme Court, the old four-

storeyed Club House known as "Gordon's Folly" on the Esplanade and afterwards as the Military Department, the General Post Office (at the corner of Chowringhee and Lindsay Street), Speke (now Sudder) Street, the Sadar Dewani Adalat and the Chowringhee Theatre. The figures of adjutant-birds add to the interest of the pictures.

During a residence of eight years in India Colonel (then Captain) John Luard filled a portfolio with interesting sketches of the country and its inhabitants from Calcutta to the Himalaya mountains. It was published under the title of *Views in India, St. Helena, etc.* (London, 1835, fol.) drawn by himself on stone. The work is dedicated to the Governor-General, Lord Amherst. Among the most important of the sixty plates are those depicting the siege of Bhurtpore, where Luard had served. He had also been present at Waterloo.

Captain Jump's *Views in Calcutta* was published by Parbury in 1837. The six plates represent Kidderpore Bridge, Bahleahghat (in which the Canal communicates with Salt-water Lakes), Barabazar, the Martinière, Roopchand Roy Street (in the northern quarter of the city) and Government House, Calcutta. In the last-named the dome is surmounted by the statue of Britannia which was struck by lightning in 1838 and removed in consequence.

Captain G. P. Thomas, of the 64th B. N. I., published, in 1846, his *Views of Simla* with letterpress relating to the inhabitants and productions of the Himalaya mountains. The work is dedicated to the Court of Directors.

The Route of the Overland Mail to India (1850) contains two lithographic views of Madras and Calcutta.

The Indian Mutiny directed attention to India, and a large illustrated work on the country was projected by Day and Son of London. With this object they sent Mr. William Simpson, the artist, well known as "Crimean Simpson," to make sketches. For three years Simpson remained here visiting both the Eastern and Western cities, sojourning in the Himalayas and even venturing across the borders of the forbidden land of Tibet, where he had access to some of the Buddhist temples. He had accompanied the Governor-General, Lord Canning, in his triumphal progress (1860) over the scenes of the Mutiny. The finishing of his pictures occupied four years after his return. He had completed two hundred and fifty of them and placed these in the hands of Day and Son, when that firm suddenly became bankrupt and all Simpson's work for seven years was reckoned as an asset of the firm, because of the advances they had made to meet his current expenses. Simpson's work appeared in 1867 under the title of *India, Ancient and Modern*. It consists of a series of fifty illustrations of the country and people of India and adjacent territories, including architecture, scenery, costumes, etc., beautifully executed in chromolithography, with descriptive letterpress, original and selected, by Sir J. W. Kaye.

LIGHTER WORKS.

In 1830 was published by Edward Orme a volume of twenty coloured plates entitled *The European in India*. The artist was Sir Charles D'Oyly, one of a family of Anglo-Indian baronets. His father was Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, 6th Baronet, of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service and a friend of Warren Hastings, who took an interest in the son and secured for him a nomination in the service in 1796. Previously

to his return to England he rose to be senior member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium and of the Marine Board. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1818, and died at Florence in 1845. Bishop Heber has the following reference to him. "I had an invitation from Sir Charles D'Oyly, and stopped my boat literally at the gate of his house (at Bankipore), which stands very pleasantly on a high bank above the river I found great amusement and interest in looking over Sir Charles's drawing books ; he is the best gentleman artist I ever met with. He says India is full of beautiful and picturesque country if people would but stir a little way from the banks of the Ganges, and his own drawings and paintings certainly make good his assertion." D'Oyly had his own lithographic press at Bhagalpore. He provided numerous coloured lithographs for a book published by Ackermann, in London in 1828, entitled *Tom Raws the Griffin*, and described as a "burlesque poem in twelve cantos" illustrative of "the adventures of a cadet in the East India Company's Service from the period of his quitting England to his obtaining a staff situation in India." The poem was written by "A Civilian" in the Spenserian stanza and is amusing enough, the humorous sketches suggesting Rowlandson's illustrations of Dr. Syntax's famous journey. The voyage out and Tom's fellow passengers are all described in turn. On landing in Calcutta Tom dines at the house of a big Civilian, to whom he has brought out letters of introduction. After various adventures, too numerous to chronicle, he gets himself presented at the Governor-General's Levée. Government House is then described. The book contains, among other things, a description of a girls' boarding-school where the pupils were trained up for matrimonial purposes,

being duly impressed no doubt with the notion that no *parti* is eligible who cannot command a silver teapot and a buggy. There is also a description of a nautch-party to which many Europeans are invited, given by an opulent and corpulent babu rejoicing in the name of Churbee Dass. The largest of Sir Charles D'Oyly's works is *Views in Calcutta and its Environs*. They are well-known plates of Calcutta views lithographed from his sketches. This work was published in London in 1848 after D'Oyly's death and contains twenty-seven large plates. The view of St. Paul's Cathedral (then recently erected), that of the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart at the entrance to Dharamtala, the Menagerie (no longer existing) in the Barrackpore Park and the representation of the Hindu festival of Churruck-puja are deserving of special mention.

In 1816 there appeared in London *The Grand Master or Adventures of Qui Hai in Hindustan*. It is a Hudibrastic poem in eight cantos by "Quiz" and illustrated by the celebrated engraver Rowlandson. In the coloured plates we see "Qui Hai" arriving at Apollo Bunder, drinking beer at the Bombay tavern, attending the General's levée, hunting with the Bobbery Pack, drowning his cares in the Bombay Jail, dying there in misery and then drawn in a bullock hearse to Padre Burrow's godown (the burial ground).

Curry and Rice, on Forty Plates; or, the Ingredients of Social Life at "Our Station" in India by Captain George F. Atkinson, an Indian Engineer officer, depicts everyday life as it is lived by Englishmen in the mofussil. It was published in London in 1858 and is embellished with a number of good coloured lithographs. The style is a forced imitation of Thackeray, though the flippantly worded dedication is not to the great novelist but to a

Lieutenant of that name attached to the author's own corps. No attempt is made to preserve the likeness of the various characters and even in the letterpress their individuality is of the faintest. The crowning humour is to assign to most of these shadowy creations names founded on a misconception of certain vernacular words for ingredients and materials of cookery in furtherance probably of the idea in the title of the book. The artist, one can easily believe, was pronounced "a horrid man" by many a civilian's wife. Allowing for the exaggeration of caricature, it was not altogether an untrue picture of station life among our Anglo-Indian mofussil aristocracy! The means for reproducing pictures at the disposal of publishers in those days were extremely limited. Lithography was much adopted and, in the case of *Curry and Rice*, the original sketches of Captain Atkinson were redrawn upon stone and printed in monochrome, whereby much of their character and charm of colouring were lost. Through three successive years (1858-60) the work ran through three editions. A fourth has only recently been published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., at whose disposal the original coloured sketches of the artist were placed and have now been reproduced in facsimile, aided by the latest developments in the art of colour reproduction.

TRAVELS.

Viscount Valentia, son and heir of the 1st Earl of Mount Norris, embarked on a voyage to the East in June, 1802. He was accompanied by Henry Salt, who acted as his secretary and afterwards became Consul-General for Egypt. The result of the excursion is embodied in three large quarto volumes

entitled *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt* in the years 1802-6. The work is dedicated to Lord Wellesley. It opens with a pleasing vignette of the Governor-General's country-seat at Barrackpore. This as well as the other engravings are from the paintings of Henry Salt, whose *Twenty-four Views* was intended as a further illustration of Lord Valentia's travels. Mr. Salt, it may be noted, was the first to discover the Buddhist origin of the cave-temples of Western India. The very evening Lord Valentia landed in Calcutta there was a grand party at Government House in honour of the "Peace." This was the first occasion of a public entertainment being given in the new Government House which had only lately been completed. We learn from our noble traveller that "the State rooms in Government House were for the first time lighted up" on that occasion. After a month's stay at Calcutta, during which time he visited Barrackpore, he travelled up-country enjoying his stay at Lucknow, where he saw all the pomps and vanities that were worth seeing in an Eastern Court. We have an account of Lord Valentia's visit to General Lake while His Excellency was on the march to the frontier. On Valentia's way back he passed through Murshidabad, where we have a graphic account of the celebrated Munny Begum. He dwells at length on the salubrity and society of Calcutta, where he stayed for another couple of months. He has some severe strictures on gaming which is said to have been prevalent at the time. He also has an account of the Supreme Court and of the Church Establishment, more particularly in reference to missionary methods with which His Lordship is scarcely in sympathy. On his way to Madras by way of Tanjore, Lord Valentia gives

a history of the Raja's family, of his elevation to the *musnud* and a description of his palace. His description of Seringapatam is interesting from a military point of view. Among particulars relative to different places in India we have some political observations on the Mahratta empire, an interesting account of a visit to the pagodas of Salsette and Elephanta and an entertaining description of Bombay. There are two interesting pictures of peons of Mysore, a view of Benares and of the new palace at Lucknow and of an ancient tower at Bhagalpore. The whole work is written in the form of a journal. Lord Valentia possessed qualifications eminently fitting him for a successful writer. He was a careful observer, had a singular facility for catching the point and appreciating the spirit of what he saw, and, considering the short time he was in the country, it is astonishing how at home he appears to be on current Indian subjects of the day. He possessed lively manners, great curiosity and a *bonhommie* that relished amusement of every sort. Travellers before him were actuated by love of gain, but Lord Valentia visited India for the purpose of gratifying his own curiosity and imparting his observations to the public. Lord Valentia succeeded, on his father's death in 1814, to the Earldom of Mount Norris. His *Travels* is said to be a favourite work with Earl Curzon.

In 1815, on the close of the war with Nepal, James Baillie Fraser made a tour of exploration in the Himalayas, accompanied by his brother William, then Political Agent to General Martindale's army, and who was afterwards murdered at Delhi. They were the first Europeans known to have traversed that part of the peninsula. The tour occupied two months, and Fraser afterwards published an account of it entitled *Journal of*

a *Tour through part of the Survey range and to the Sources of the Jumna and Ganges* (1820). A folio volume of twenty coloured plates illustrating the scenery accompanied the work under the title of *Views in the Himalaya Mountains*. Six years later (in 1826) he published twenty-four beautifully coloured engravings of *Views in Calcutta*. The view of Writers' Buildings contains a good illustration of the old Holwell obelisk, which it would be interesting to compare with the one erected by Earl Curzon. Fraser is perhaps better known as the author of the *Military Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner*, who was a close friend of his brother William.

In 1824 appeared Lieutenant-Colonel C. R. Forrest's *A Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna*. The work, which consists of twenty-four coloured views of the most attractive scenes with descriptive text, was published by Ackermann, who, it will be remembered, used to bring out many such illustrated works.

Captain Leopold von Orlich published an account of his *Travels in India, Sinde and the Punjab*, 1842-43. The work was translated by H. Evans Lloyd in 1846 and gives a comprehensive description, including notices of the outward voyage *viâ* Egypt, Bombay, the Punjab and the principal places between the Sutlej and Calcutta. These notices include observations on the manners, customs and institutions, whether of the Natives or of Europeans. They are in the form of letters addressed to the author's celebrated countrymen, the Baron Alexander von Humboldt and Carl Ritter. During his visits to Lord Ellenborough as well as to the native princes of Sinde, Lahore and Oude, the author's quick powers of observation stood him in good

stead. Four letters, occurring in the work, treat of the Anglo-Indian army, the court at Delhi, the criminals of India and the religion and education of the Hindus.

About the same time there came out an illustrated work by another foreign visitor, to wit, Prince Alexis Soltykoff. He records his experiences in two volumes, adding a selection of views in Ceylon and various parts of India.

Fanny Parks (*née* Archer) was the daughter of one of Lord Combermere's Aides. The dates of her birth and death are not given in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, which does not even mention her husband's name. He was (although Herbert Compton incorrectly styles her "Lady Fanny Parkes") Mr. Charles Crawford Parks of the Bengal Civil Service who died as an annuitant in London (1854). They came out to India about 1822, and, after passing some time in Calcutta, went to several stations in the Upper Provinces and settled chiefly at Allahabad. They returned to England in 1839; but came back to India five years later and left the country finally in 1845. Childless, curious, with a smattering of natural science and some taste for sketching, Mrs. Parks occupied the leisure of a civilian's house in questioning her servants, observing the habits of indigenous animals and picking up a store of miscellaneous, though unsystematic knowledge of the country. The result was a most charming account of her experiences in two large illustrated volumes, entitled *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque*, and published, in 1850, by Pelham Richardson of Cornhill. It is one of the best accounts of Indian life and events and forms a journal of her twenty-four years' residence in India. There is a novelty and vividness in these entertaining pages which give

glimpses into the highest classes of native female society. We also find in it a vivid description of a *suttee* and of the great fair at Allahabad. At Lucknow she describes a show which the King of Oude exhibited for the entertainment of Lord and Lady William Bentinck in 1831, including a description of wild-beast fights. She handles with equal skill "the pencil, the pellet-bow and the grey goose-quill." We have an entertaining description of her interview with the Rev Joseph Wolff, the celebrated wandering *padre*, and her parting present to him of two Hindu idols. Her account of the wandering gypsies is amusing. The hero of the first volume is Colonel Gardner, and we are presented with a highly interesting account of his zenana. Her description of Mrs. James Gardner, or Mulka Begum, and her dress is equally picturesque. We are also treated to one of the zenana of a scion of Hindu monarchy, a lady (Baiza Bhai), who had sat on the throne of Gwalior as queen-regnant for nine years, and of her grand-daughter. Her account of a ride in the zenana is very amusing, while her description of a "north-wester" is remarkably true to nature. Her delightfully gossipy book, which includes a selection of piquant oriental proverbs and sayings, is written in the form of a journal. The charm, liveliness and freshness of the narrative are kept up to the last page. Drawings of land and water, of plants and animals, of Hindu gods and goddesses are all signed in mysterious Persian characters, which, when transliterated, read into the words "Fani Parkas." Of the interesting coloured pictures may be mentioned those of the Hindu triad, of Ganesa, Jagannath, Bhagwan, the temple of Bhagwani, the Southern Cross, etc.; there is also an illustration of the Charack Poojah. In short, it is a most elegant

work conceived by an active and intelligent mind. None but an accomplished and amiable woman could have written it.

TYPES AND CHARACTERS.

Robert Mabon published in 1797 his *Sketches Illustrative of Oriental Manners and Customs* with letter-press. It is described in a catalogue as "the earliest published collection of plates illustrating the manners and customs of the natives of India, the Calcutta edition of Solvyns not having been issued till two years later.' Mabon assisted James Wales in his drawings of the cave-temples of Ellora (included in Daniell's *Oriental Scenery*). An interesting letter from Mr. Archibald Constable, the Publisher, relating to Wales and Mabon, will be found in the *Indian Antiquary* for April 1880.

A somewhat similar work is Lieutenant Gold's *Oriental Drawings* published in 1806.

François Balthazar Solvyns was born at Antwerp in 1760. He accompanied Admiral Sir Home Popham on a voyage to the East. During his visit to India he thoroughly studied the country and was present at the Siege of Seringapatam. During fifteen years of work he received great help from Sir William Jones and worked to "delineate the people of Hindustan in all their customs and usages, both of their public and their private life." Here is one of Solvyns' advertisements which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* :—

MR. SOLVYNS

Respectfully informs the public, he proposes to publish a collection of Heads, etched and coloured by himself ; exhibiting the Native and various other inhabitants of India, etc., etc. The whole forming a curious and interesting collection of three hundred different Heads, to be published in numbers mont hly

to begin in January, 1796, containing twenty-five coloured Etchings each.

To be had of Mr. Solvyns only, at his house in Cossitollah Street behind the old jail, at sicca rupees sixteen each number ; and all letters or orders addressed to him as above, will be punctually attended to.

Gentlemen wishing to subscribe for the collection complete may have it forwarded to them at sicca rupees 168 ; one half to be paid on delivery of the first number, and the remainder when the work is finished.

The drawings of the whole collection, taken partly from Nature and partly from original paintings in the possession of gentlemen in India.

Mr. Solvyns begs leave to intimate, that this has no connection whatever with the work he is now publishing descriptive of the manners, customs, and dresses of the Natives of Bengal ; as it only comprises such part of that work as from the nature of it, must necessarily be introduced. The great variety in nature, and dress characteristick of the Natives and other inhabitants of India naturally attracts the attention of an Artist, and first induced Mr. S. to attempt the collection. The whole has been executed with considerable care, as opportunities offered ; how far he has succeeded in rendering it worthy of attention and approbation ; he leaves a liberal and discerning public to determine.

Calcutta, December 1798.

Solvyns' work came out in 1807-12 and was dedicated to the French Institute. He was Captain of the Port of Antwerp till his death there in 1824.

In 1819 was published by Orme the *Oriental Field Sports*. The author, Captain Thomas Williamson, remained in Bengal upwards of twenty years when wild animals were more plentiful than they are now. His work, which contains illustrations and descriptions of these, is embellished with forty large hand-coloured drawings.

The Hon. Miss Emily Eden, sister of Lord Auckland, published in 1844 two editions of a folio volume, with letterpress descriptions, entitled *Portraits of the Princes and People of India*. The work contains twenty-four fine lithographs comprising portraits, among others, of Ranjit and Sheer Sing, Dost Mahomed, the King of Oude and a representation of Lord Auckland receiving the Raja of Nahun in Durbar. Miss Eden is also known by her books, *Letters from India* and *Up the Country*, describing everyday life in her brother's Viceregal Court.

Oriental Heads by Colesworthy Grant form a series of lithographic portraits drawn from life, intended to illustrate the physiognomic characters of the various peoples and tribes of India. The drawing is very fine. Grant lived many years in Calcutta where he helped to establish the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He also executed a number of lithographic portraits of local celebrities which first appeared in various reviews. Grant was the author of two or three other pleasantly written works illustrated by himself, containing descriptions of Anglo-Indian domestic life and rural life in Bengal, with an account of the cultivation and manufacture of Indigo. He also wrote and illustrated *Rough Pencillings of a Rough Trip to Rangoon in 1846*, in the days before photography had begun to supersede the sister-art of drawing as a means of illustrating books. He died in Calcutta in 1880 in his sixty-seventh year.

WAR PICTURES AND CAMPAIGN SCENES.

The military history of British India has also been told by its artists. Perhaps the earliest war scenes are those connected with Seringapatam, representing Lord

Cornwallis's campaign against Tipu Sultan and contained in *Select Views of Mysore* (1794). They were the work of Robert Home, who was Court-Painter to the King of Oude. He also brought out a description of Seringapatam. In 1797 he exhibited at the Royal Academy "The Reception of the Mysore Princes as Hostages by the Marquis of Cornwallis"—a subject which engaged the brushes of two other well-known artists, *viz.*, Thomas Hickey and A. W. Devis. Home was for a time Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and died at Cawnpore in 1834, aged 83.

The first Burmese War has found at least two chroniclers in pictures. Lieutenant Joseph Moore, of the 89th Regiment, published, in 1825, *Eighteen Views taken at or near Rangoon*. They depict Port Cornwallis (great Andaman) and the fleet collected there; Landing of the Forces at Rangoon; Attacks upon the Stockades; the Conflagration of Dalla (Rangoon River), together with other war pictures and scenes in Rangoon. The same year (1825) appeared J. Grierson's *Twelve Select Views of the Seat of War* [in Burma]. These lithographs were published by the Asiatic Press, Calcutta.

Lieutenant George Abbott of the 15th Regiment, N.I., published in 1827 *Views of the Forts of Bhurtpore and Weire*. The work is dedicated to General Lord Combermere, G.C.B., and contains thirteen litho plates, with a short account of the capture of the forts.

Ackermann also issued a series of fine large coloured engravings by Henry Martens under the title of *Pictures from the War in the Punjab*, 1845-9. Captain C. H. Meham of the Madras Army, brought out, in 1858, twenty-seven tinted sketches on eighteen plates under the title of *Sketches & Incidents of the Siege of Lucknow*

from drawings taken during the Siege. The work is dedicated to H.M. Queen Victoria and is furnished with descriptive notices by Sir George Couper, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oude.

In 1859 Captain D. Sarsfield Greene of the Bengal Artillery published his *Views in India* from drawings taken by himself during the Sepoy Mutiny. The work is dedicated, by permission, to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and consists of twenty coloured plates, including representations of the Slaughter House, Cawnpore, and a view of Windham's intrenchment there, as also of his advance to meet the Gwalior Contingent and of the pursuit of the Gwalior army by Sir Colin Campbell.

The Cawnpore Massacre, it may be added, has been pictorially represented in three folio-sized original sketches taken on the spot by Lieutenant C. W. Crump of the Madras Artillery, drawn on stone with tints by Vincent Brooks.

The Campaign in India by Captain G. F. Atkinson, of *Curry and Rice* celebrity, was published in 1859. The work is designed to illustrate the military operations before Delhi during the Mutiny and contains twenty-six tinted lithographs, one of which represents Hodson's Horse. It is dedicated to the late Queen-Empress and is accompanied by a letterpress description.

In 1860 was published *General Views and Special Points of Interest of the City of Lucknow* from drawings made on the spot by Lieutenant-Colonel D. S. Dodgson. The work is dedicated to Lieutenant-General the Hon'ble Sir James Outram and contains twenty-eight tinted lithographs.

Like Meham's work it is furnished with descriptive notices and consists of scenes in and around the city just after the Mutiny.

This section may conclude with the remark that Captain John Williams's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry*, published in 1817, contains four coloured plates of Grenadier Sepoy, Hawaldar, Light Infantry Sepoy and Subadar.

RECENT WORKS.

To come down to more modern works: Mr. Mortimer Menpes's brush is never so happily engaged as when depicting the scenes and people of the gorgeous East. The Coronation Durbar of 1903 gave him an unique opportunity for doing so. The work consists of one hundred superb plates with text by Miss Dorothy Menpes. In 1905 Mr Menpes published a work on India consisting of a series of seventy-five coloured illustrations, with descriptions by Mrs. Flora Annie Steel. The following notice of the work is taken from *Notes and Queries*:—"No fewer than seventy-five pictures are given of scenes in Delhi, Agra, Jeypore, Muttra, Benares, Peshawar, Amritsar, Ajmere, Lahore, etc., most of them of ravishing loveliness. Views are also provided of native women, brides, market women, water-carriers, bazaars, shops, grain merchants, workers in silver and gold, fruit stalls, and vegetable markets. The colour in these is wonderful." Mr. Menpes furnished twelve coloured plates to an account of the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi attended by the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress. The work is entitled *Peeps at Great Cities: Delhi and the Durbar*.

Mention may be made in passing of Mr. Hallam Murray's *High-Road of Empire*, illustrated with water-

colour and pen-and-ink sketches, Rev. W. Urwick's *Indian Pictures* drawn with pen and pencil, and, among books on Burma, of Mr. Talbot Kelly's work and Mr. Scott O'Connor's *The Silken East*, the latter with coloured plates by Mr. J. R. Middleton.

ILLUSTRATED PAPERS.

A few words may perhaps be added on the above subject before this article is brought to a close.

At Delhi there was published, by a Mr. Wagentrieber, a monthly journal entitled the *Delhi Sketch Book*, the name being afterwards changed to the *Delhi Punch*. This was, of course, a humorous publication, in which the illustrations were better than the letterpress. It was started some three or four years before the Mutiny and survived till about seven years after it. In the year 1858 there used to be published in Calcutta an illustrated comic journal styled *Comus*. Among its pleasures was poking fun at the Calcutta Volunteer Guards. It had a short-lived existence and a copy is rarely met with nowadays, although some eight or nine years ago Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. had a bound set on sale for Rs. 50.

The *Indian Charivari*, which was started about 1872, used to be conducted by a Colonel Percy Wyndham. This unfortunate gentleman, if memory serves us right, lost his life in a ballooning accident at Rangoon. His paper continued to amuse Calcutta society for eight or nine years. The best work in it was from the pencil of "Isca"—this is the old name of Exeter, the birthplace of the artist, Mr. George G. Palmer, who for many years held the position of Superintending Engraver in the Surveyor-General's Office. A feature was the "Charivari Album"

consisting of tinted portraits of Indian celebrities which were regarded as excellent likenesses at the time. It used, with infinite good humour, to caricature Sir Richard Temple and Madame Blavatsky among other people. The cartoons at the time of the Afghan war were considered very clever. We have scarcely had any successor worth mentioning.

E. W. MADGE and K. N. DHAR, M.A.

Art. III.—MORE ECHOES FROM OLD CALCUTTA.

NAND KUMAR AND HIS ALLEGED EARLY FORGERIES.

NAWAB MIR JAFAR, who was very much attached to Maharajah Nand Kumar, did not fail to put in a recommendation for him even when dying. In February 1765 the Nawab from his deathbed wrote to the Governor, John Spencer, thus :—

[2549. February 7, 1765.] From the Nawab Mir Jafar to the Governor. Has already informed the Governor of the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah having taken his seat on the *masnad* and put on the *khalat*. Mr. Middleton also must have written to the Governor about this. Has been ill for some days and his disorder daily increases. Consequently sees no hope of recovery. If he should recover his health, he will acquaint the Governor fully with his affairs ; but if it should happen otherwise, he commits the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah, the Nawab Najabat Ali Khan, the Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah and the rest of his family, together with the Raja Nand Kumar to the care and protection of the Governor and the gentlemen of the Council. Hopes that the said persons will receive the same kindness as they were used during His Excellency's lifetime. *P.S.*—Request that this letter may be answered soon. "Your servant" Raja Nand Kumar is ready in obedience and attachment. *P.S.*—It is hoped that "we" shall receive the same kindness from the Governor and the gentlemen of the Council as "we" did from the Nawab.

This is the last letter addressed by the Nawab Mir Jafar to the Governor of Bengal, as he died on the 6th February 1765. The following letters were addressed respectively by the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah and Maharaja Nand Kumar announcing the death of the Nawab Mir Jafar.

[2551. February 7, 1765.] From the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah to the Governor. Intimates that the Nawab Mir Jafar, his father, breathed his last on Tuesday, the 14th of *Shaban* at a quarter-past one in the afternoon. Immediately on hearing the news, Mr. Middleton, Mr. George Gray, Mr. Stables, Mr. Droze, etc., came to condole with the writer, who by their advice and counsel took his seat on the *masnad* and caused this to be proclaimed through the city. As he considers it his duty to promote the interest of the people and the prosperity of the country, he will set about his work with great eagerness. Hopes for the protection. Remains firm to the agreement made by the late Nawab with the English.

[2552. February 7, 1765.] From Raja Nand Kumar. On the 7th of *Shaban* His Excellency the Nawab Mir Jafar by reason of the severity of his illness left off the management of affairs and wrote to the Governor of his having seated his son the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah in his place on the *masnad*. From that time His Excellency's malady daily increased and he grew more and more feeble. This morning, the 14th *Shaban*, he called for the writer and placing him by his side, rested his head on his lap and spoke very much about his affairs. The particulars thereof are too tedious to admit of a repetition, but the substance of them was that the writer should get a letter written and dispatched to the Governor recommending his son Najm-ud-daulah and rest of his family, together with the writer. By the time this business was ended it was 12 o'clock. Then His Excellency's countenance denoted impossibility of recovery and within three *gharis* he "departed from his perishable world to one that is everlasting" "to relate the excess of our grief and affliction on this occasion would require volumes." Mr. Middleton, Mr. George Gray, Mr. Droze, and other gentlemen hastened to comfort the children of His Excellency and were unanimous in advising Najm-ud-daulah not to give way to sorrow and lamentation, but to administer consolation to others. Accordingly, the young Nawab sat on the *masnad*. He hopes for the support of the Governor to whom he has written a letter containing an account of these particulars. "By the grace of God" he will in no wise be remiss in the business of

the Company and in endeavouring to please the Governor and promote the welfare of the people. He will manifest even a greater affection for the English than did the late Nawab. In performing the duties of a well-wisher, the writer will also do more than he did before. And as the late Nawab before he died recommended the writer to the care of the English, it is hoped that he too will be favoured and supported.

Henry Vansittart retired from the Governorship of Bengal and was succeeded by John Spencer on 3rd December 1764. The latter was brought down from Bombay, and the death of Mir Jafar and the accession of a new Nawab to the *masnad* of Moorshidabad were most opportune to improve his fortune. He and the members of the Bengal Council made the most of this splendid opportunity. To what extent they profited by this change in the Bengal *subahdari* is told in the following letter* from Mahomed Reza Khan to

*June 26, 1765, 2667. From Muhammad Reza Khan to Lord Clive. Has received his letter saying that the account the writer gave of the money received by the gentlemen from the Nawab and himself has been laid before the Council: that now all the gentlemen say that the Nawab made them presents of his own free will; and that Mr. Senior intimates that Mr. Johnstone received Rs. 1,37,500, while Mr. Middleton, Mr. Leycester and himself each received Rs. 1,12,500, and that the money was distributed by the writer; and desiring to be informed whether the distribution was made by the Nawab of his own free will, or by him, or by the direction of some other persons. Has already represented everything. Mr. Johnstone sent him a message by Moti Ram that the gentlemen wanted money and that he should procure them some from His Excellency. As he perceived that if he did not represent this matter to His Excellency, the gentlemen would be offended with him he was obliged to do it. For some days he treated with Moti Ram on the subject. Mr. Johnstone at first demanded a very large sum, but after a good deal of discussion, His Excellency gave under his hand and seal one note for Rs. 4,75,000 to be divided equally among Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton, Leycester and Mr. Johnstone's brother, and two more notes for Rs. 1,00,000 and Rs. 50,000 to be paid to Mr. Johnstone and his brother respectively. At that time no distribution of money had been settled. It was done so afterwards in His Excellency's presence agreeably to Mr. Johnstone's directions concerning it. The writer gave all the three notes into His Excellency's hands and acquainted him that it was Mr. Johnstone's pleasure that Rs. 1,00,000 for himself and Rs. 50,000 for his brother should be paid secretly. As to the note for Rs. 4,75,000, His Excellency delivered it in presence of all the four gentlemen to Mr. Johnstone who at first refused it, but afterwards accepted it saying "What shall the gentlemen do with a bare note?" His Excellency then delivered the note to the writer and directed him to pay all that money, which was accordingly done. With regard to the gentlemen's assertion that the Nawab gave the money of his own free will asks why in that case His Excellency complained to the Governor that the writer took away the money belonging to his house and distributed it among

Lord Clive, who arrived in Calcutta on the 3rd May 1765. But Spencer and the members of his Council would not have been able to aggrandise themselves at the expense of Nawab Najm-ud-daulah had Maharaja Nand Kumar remained at Moorshidabad and aided him by his advice. How the English gentlemen at Moorshidabad forming a deputation contrived to bring about the removal of Maharajah Nand Kumar, who was at this time the sole manager of the affairs of Bengal, Behar and Orissa from Moorshidabad to Calcutta, is thus told in the following Persian correspondence recorded in the Foreign Department :—

[2607. March 17, 1765.] From the Governor to the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah. It is the duty of every man who wishes well to his friend to give information and advice of everything that relates to him. Is sorry to be under the necessity of communicating to him that which gives the writer pain and must also be very disagreeable to His Excellency. But love for the preservation of His Excellency's family and possessions, and anxiety for the protection of the Company's interests oblige him to do so. Has got some papers relative to Nand Kumar's correspondence with Balwant Singh,

the gentlemen. The writer did nothing but obey the orders of both sides. His representations to His Excellency were in consequence of the gentlemen's orders, and His Excellency himself also directed him to do whatever was their pleasure. With regard to the notes the writer gave on his own account, Moti Ram came to him and told him to make some presents to Mr. Johnstone and other gentlemen from himself also. The writer sent an answer suitable to his circumstances. But Moti Ram returned and said that the gentlemen were not satisfied, but were even offended with him. Agreeably to their pleasure, therefore, the writer gave two notes for Rs 4,75,000—one for Rs. 4,00,000 to be divided equally among Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton, and Leycester, and one (which the other gentlemen knew nothing of) for Rs 75,000 to be divided between Mr. Johnstone and his brother in the proportion of 2 to 1. Of the above sum Rs. 2,25,000 have been paid—Rs. 1,75,000 by five bills which the Governor has seen, and Rs. 5,000 in cash. There is still a balance of Rs. 2,50,000 to be paid. Rs. 1,00,000 are due to Mr. Middleton and Rs. 50,000 each to Messrs. Johnstone, Leycester and Senior. Encloses copies of Nawab's three notes. The writer's own two notes were taken by Moti Ram to Mr. Johnstone, in whose hands perhaps they still are. The Governor can demand them from him and peruse them. What the writer formerly represented and now again represents does not deviate a hair's breadth from the truth. Has written similarly to the Committee. P. S.—has arrived at Daudpur. Will set out night for Murshedabad and have the honour of waiting upon His Excellency the next day, dated 23rd June.

by which Nand Kumar's character appears to be so suspicious that it will be dangerous for His Excellency to keep that man about him till he has cleared himself from such imputations as are laid to his charge. As the proofs and witnesses are to be in Calcutta, His Excellency is requested to send him down. A fair and candid enquiry into his conduct will be made by the gentlemen of the Board and a particular account thereof will be sent to His Excellency. Desires that he may not be considered persuaded of Nand Kumar's guilt beforehand. On the contrary, he sincerely wishes and hopes that the man will prove guiltless. But the writer's mind is uneasy, whilst such a charge is laid against a person, who has so much authority and rank in the country. Does not doubt that His Excellency will contribute all in his power to make him easy by sending Nand Kumar without delay. The gentlemen of the deputation have the orders of the Board to represent this affair to His Excellency. Hopes that he will remain perfectly satisfied with what they mention.

[2614. March 23, 1765.] From the Governor to the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah. It gives him much concern to see that His Excellency should make the least hesitation in respect of Nand Kumar's coming to Calcutta to clear up a point that so nearly affects the English. The writer expected that His Excellency would show more confidence in him and the Council than he has done on the present occasion. It would give them all uneasiness to see His Excellency begin his Government almost by supporting a man accused so strongly of a crime that, if proved, renders him unworthy not only of their confidence but also that of His Excellency. Desires him, therefore, to send the accused to Calcutta. Had it only concerned the affairs of His Excellency's Government, the English would have contented themselves with laying the case before him, leaving it to him to take such measures as might be necessary. But when Nand Kumar's delinquency strikes principally at them, they can have no confidence in a man so accused and suspected till the point is cleared up. His Excellency ought to consider it extremely necessary to increase the harmony subsisting between him and the English.

by sending down the accused immediately on receipt of this letter. He will have a fair and candid hearing and His Excellency will be apprised of everything. The trial cannot take place at the city, but only at Calcutta. It would be better if His Excellency were present thereat, but at such a juncture as the present, his absence from the city would throw his affairs into the utmost confusion. Therefore happy as the Governor would be at any other time to be honoured with a visit from him, the present time is so improper, that he must be requested not to think of such a thing, but to continue by his presence at the city to give currency to the affairs of the Government. Repeats strenuously his desire that Nand Kumar should be sent down without delay.

[2616. March 25, 1765.] From the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah to the Governor. On the 19th instant in the evening, he told Raja Nand Kumar that as many people went to Motejhil and spoke things to Mr. Johnstone in prejudice to them both, and as the Raja for want of leisure went but seldom there thus causing that gentleman to entertain an ill opinion of him, he should go to Motejhil and pay a visit to the gentlemen there. Accordingly the next day in the morning the Raja went from his own house direct to Motejhil and saw Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton and Leicester. Having presented to them His Excellency's compliments and good wishes agreeably to their respective ranks, he sat down. Those gentlemen were just then preparing to come to His Excellency. The Raja was desirous of accompanying them, but they told him to remain there as they would soon be back. Accordingly they left him under a guard and came to His Excellency with the Governor's letter of the 17th instant concerning the Raja. On perusing it, finds that the charge against him now is the same as was preferred against him by Mir Ashraf at Buxar a twelve month ago. The fact of the matter was that the Raja had refused him *sanads* for a certain grant for Bibi Raushan, his sister, and for a *jagir* yielding a revenue of Rs. 32,000. In consequence of his refusal, he conceived a great enmity against the Raja, and brought before General Carnac, then a Major, one Din Dial Missar, together with two or three more suborned

witnesses. Din Dial Missar is an old *gumashtah* of his own, whom he had before introduced to His Excellency the late Nawab Mir Jafar as a *wakil* of Balwant Singh. General Carnac, together with Messrs. Swinton, Stables, Pearson, and other gentlemen made full inquiry into the affair. Again, after the return of the army from Buxar, the gentlemen called together Mir Ashraf's suborned witnesses, and a second inquiry, wherein their falseness plainly appeared, was held. A third time the General, Mr. Swinton and other gentlemen called Mir Ashraf before them at Patna. The Mir represented that Din Dial Missar had notice of the treasonable letter written by Nand Kumar to Raja Balwant Singh. Upon this, Din Dial Missar was summoned and examined. He replied that Nand Kumar did not give him any letter or message, and that only one letter (of which the cover was open) under his seal was shown to him by Mir Ashraf. In fine, the latter was convicted of falsehood in the presence of the late Nawab and the aforesaid gentlemen. Accordingly Major Carnac and Mr. Swinton repeatedly wrote the Council a full account of their inquiries into his affairs. Begs that the Governor will take out those papers and peruse them. When the late Nawab went down to Calcutta, Mr. Vansittart Shams-ud-daulah resumed the inquiry and the allegations appeared to be entirely false. At present, Nand Kumar having given the General a memorandum about seizing the *parganah* of Kabra Manirur, Balwant Singh must have been much offended thereat. And now that Mir Ashraf, who is of old a liar and a child of selfishness, has been to Benares, it is not surprising if he has induced Balwant Singh to act in concert with him. Selfish people in order to gain their private ends, spare no pains to ruin a faithful friend of His Excellency's and a well-wisher of the Company's. "Understanding is requisite to those who hear." Ask the Governor to consider, at the time when Shuja-ud-daulah's forces were advancing, how earnestly and repeatedly Nand Kumar pressed the late Nawab to dismiss him to Rani-ka-talab where the English army was encamped; with what speed he hastened to join it; how he supplied the army with grain which was not procurable there; and how numbers of his people were plundered, killed

or wounded in passing backwards and forwards. Also in the wars at Patna what pains did he not take and what services did he not perform? Asks to what this behaviour could be attributed but to his attachment to the English Company and the late Nawab. It is very improper, therefore, that His Excellency should entertain any thoughts of enmity against such a well-wisher of the Company's and such a faithful friend of himself. There was no necessity for sending him to Motejhil to see the gentlemen of the Council, who regardless of his rank and station would not suffer him to come away again. Moreover, when His Excellency sent them a note by the hands of a Mujaffar Ali Khan, *Daroghah* of the *Diwan Khanah*, desiring them to release him, they would not consent to it. Through necessity he went himself this day to Motejhil and begged and entreated the gentlemen of the Council in the most suppliant manner to release Nand Kumar. At length, they gave in after having made His Excellency give them under his hand whatsoever they desired. Cannot describe the contempt to which his Government has been exposed by these proceedings. Has written this for the Governor's information. Is awaiting his reply. If it is necessary that Nand Kumar should come to Calcutta, he will doubtless be sent. His Excellency, who has the utmost desire to see the Governor, will likewise come with his household and servants and realise that desire. Dated 21st March.

[2617. March 25th, 1765.] From the Governor to the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah. Two days ago, the Governor wrote His Excellency his sentiments regarding Nand Kumar so clearly that it was hoped that His Excellency would have immediately sent the accused to Calcutta to stand his trial. Has received his letter, but says that he cannot think of altering his decision. The thing has become so expedient for the credit of both His Excellency and the Company, that he must insist upon Nand Kumar being sent immediately to Calcutta, escorted by some of the *Nizamats* and the Company's people. This it will be for His Excellency's credit to do. But if some ill-advisers have such weight with him as to induce him to do otherwise, it will give the Governor much concern, more especially as

positive orders have already been given to the gentlemen at Murshidabad to oblige the accused to come down at all events. Hopes, therefore, that His Excellency will take such a resolution on his occasion, as may increase the friendship subsisting between him and the English. The Council did not give these positive orders at first, not having the least doubt of His Excellency's readiness to oblige them in what was so much for his own interest as well as theirs. Can only say that they are sorry to be obliged to resort to such extreme measures. Assures him they are his firm friends and have only his interest and that of the Company at heart. If any people persuade him to the contrary, they are his enemies and do it from selfish motives. Requests him not to think of coming to Calcutta. His doing so will be most disagreeable to the Governor and the Council. In fact it will not be allowed.

[2619. April 1st, 1765.] From the Governor to the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah. Has received his letter. Has also heard from the gentlemen at Murshidabad. Is glad to learn that His Excellency has consented to send Nand Kumar to Calcutta. Lest the country should suffer and the affairs of the *Nizam* be prejudiced by delays in the collections, the gentlemen at Murshidabad have been directed to lay before His Excellency certain measures allotting the business to different *Mutasaddis*. Hopes that he will readily acquiesce in these measures. Till this is done and a proper currency given to the affairs of the provinces, the Governor must deprive himself of the pleasure of a personal interview with him. The late Nawab was always loth to leave the city, as by his absence therefrom his affairs were much hurt. Much more must they be so in the beginning of a Government.

[2620. April 3rd, 1765.] From the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah to the Governor. Has received his letter. As he is at all times and in all cases ready to comply with the inclination of the Governor and the Council and in nothing deviates the least therefrom; and as there is no difference between the *Nizam* and the Company; and as he is sure that the Governor will do nothing but whatever is just he has made up his mind to send Raja Nand Kumar to Calcutta. His departure has been fixed

for Sunday, the 31st instant. His Excellency's desire to see the Governor was boundless; but as he has been told to remain at Murshidabad, he has postponed his visit to Calcutta. In case it is agreeable to the Governor and the Council, he will wait on them ten or fifteen days after the Raja sets out. Dated 27th March.

[2622. April 9th, 1765.] From the Governor to the Nawab Najm-ud-daulah. Nand Kumar has arrived at Calcutta. The matters of which he is accused, will be examined in a proper manner as soon as the evidence is collected. Though the English have so much reason to be dissatisfied with his conduct in general, yet their friendship for His Excellency prompts them to act as tenderly as is consistent with the justice due to his Government and that of the Company. His Excellency must be convinced that the English gentlemen at Murshidabad only consulted his interest in their transactions with him on his account. Certainly as they represented the Company and were vested with the powers they had from the Governor and Council, they could not well act otherwise than they did; nor could it be in any way derogatory to His Excellency's credit, that Nand Kumar should attend them whenever the nature of the service they were engaged in required it. On their consenting to his remaining in His Excellency's charge till the Governor was acquainted with the circumstances, the paper which His Excellency passed to them for his appearance when called on, was no more than was absolutely necessary for their justification to the Council, and did not deserve the appellation that His Excellency has been advised to give it. However, as His Excellency has been since so well convinced of the propriety of those measures, the Governor need not have taken notice of his matter. He did so only to clear up to His Excellency some parts of his letter which seem to impute harsh conduct to the gentlemen at Murshidabad. The English always intend good will and friendship. Does not doubt that he will soon find himself properly supporting the measures taken, and that his Government will prosper and flourish and he himself become rich and happy, which will always give the Governor, as his sincere friend, infinite satisfaction. ❷

The inquiry which took place at Calcutta regarding the allegations against Nand Kumar for carrying on treasonable correspondence with Raja Balwant Sing of Benares and other country powers was not conclusive as to his guilt, and he was set at liberty, deprived all his situations in the Government of the country.

OMICHAND AND HIS WILL.

Every forward schoolboy knows Omichand as Macaulay's "artful Bengali" and "wary and sagacious Hindu." But in reality he was neither an artful Bengali nor a wary and sagacious Hindu. His name was not Omichand, for a person even familiar with the Bengali alphabet, knows that Omichand cannot be a Bengali name. Successors of Macaulay and even serious historians have suggested that Omichand's real name might be Umacharan or Aminchand. But in fact he was neither. School boys and even earnest readers of British Indian history are still under the impression that overmatched by Clive's deception Omichand fainted away and became at once insane, and died soon after. All these statements are absolute falsehood.

The following is a correct court translation of Omichand's Will. In August 1771 probate was taken in the Mayor's Court of this Will, written by Omichand in his own hand in four folios. The original Will seems to have been lost, but its facsimili has been preserved in the Record room of the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court. A copy has also been kept. It is written in *Mahajani Nagri* i.e., *nagri* character as used by tradesmen. It is not written in either the Bengali character or the Bengali language. It is not the Will of a Bengali as Omichand was not a Bengali.

Omichand was a *Nanakpanthi*, that is, a disciple of Guru Govind Nanak, that is, a Sikh by persuasion. He was a Panjabi. He came to Bengal and settled in Calcutta. By trade he acquired immense wealth within a short time. He was the principal contractor of the East India Company for the supply of saltpetre. Huzurimul (after whom is named Huzurimull's Tank Lane near Sealdah) was one of his close relations.* Doyal Chand was his nephew and Govind Chand his brother. Excepting a few legacies which included those to the Magdalen and Foundling Hospitals of England† he left the whole of his fortune to Sri Govindji Nanak and appointed Huzurimull executor of his Will.

In 1792 a suit was instituted in the Supreme Court of Calcutta relating to Omichand's properties, and it was disclosed in the course of that suit that in December 1789, Omichand's original Will was given to the Court Examiner (of Deeds and Documents), and in June 1792 a facsimili was prepared from it. It is the latter only which is now available. It can be gathered from the deposition of the witness in this suit that Omichand, in his own hand, wrote the four sheets of the Will. Till a few days before his death he daily read the Sikh *Grantha* and had great confidence in Huzurimull. His relations among the witnesses examined in this case mentioned his name as Amir Chand. His real name was Amir Chand and not Omichand. Omichand is only a corruption of Amir Chand. A few days before his death he intended to go on a pilgrimage to Amritsar. He died on the 5th December 1758.

* Orme makes Huzurimul Omichand's brother-in-law. This is a mistake.

† (1) See Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767*, p. 478—article 908 : also.

(2) 1st April 1762—Calcutta, copy of a letter from Huzzooramull requesting the remittance of three thousand Current Rupees to England for certain charitable purposes. I. O. Consultation, 1762, p. 115.

Doyal Chand, Amir Chand's nephew, died in July 1791. Balaki Singh, Doyal Chand's nephew, brought a suit in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court against the Setts of Burrabazar. In the decree dated the 30th March 1801, it is said of Amir Chand that he was appointed as an officer in the trading business first of Boistob Nath Sett and then of his brother Manick Chand Sett. When working under the Setts, he amassed considerable wealth. Subsequently he started business on his own account, made an immense fortune and was held in great respect in Bengal, especially in the Nawab's at Moorshidabad.

Thus the story got up by Orme and echoed by James Mill and Macaulay about Omichand is a strange moonshine and a pure literary charlatanry.

HOLOGRAPH WILL OF OMICHAND.

(IN FOUR FOLIOS.)

A Court Translation, the original being in Mahajani Nagri.

FOLIO (1).

SREE.

First—to be paid to the family and dispatch them.

65,000 to be kept employed.

5,000 for the eldest lady's expenses in charitable and religious purposes.

5,000 for the daughter-in-law Ooday Coover.

15,000 for jewels, etc., at the wedding of Baboo Dya Chund.

5,000 Manick is to be left in the possession of Ooday Coovur, and the daughter-in-law will have him married.

5,000 to be paid to Dukkhenee Roy.

1,00,000 one lack.

Having heard that Dukkhinee Roy has intentions to raise difficulties, his attempts are declared futile, the lady is mistress,

let her employ the five thousand rupees given her in whatever manner she chooses. I have lately employed Baboo Rutten Chund, the son of brother Bukshmul, he will manage the banking business at Murshidabad, let him avoid causing outstanding debts ; whatever profit shall arise from the banking business through the assistance of God, two-thirds thereof shall be paid to Baboo Dya Chund Jee and one share to Ruttun Chund Jee. I have now given him as a fund

25,000 not having interest, for the expenses of the house, to remain employed.

50,000 to remain on interest at the house, at the rate of six annas, to be paid to Bibee Sahib and Baboo Dya Chund for their household expenses, cloths, food, servants, etc. necessities which they may choose to keep, their wills being uncontrolled, and no one having any right to interfere. It is my advice that 2,000 Rs. should be expended annually.

500 Baboo Dya Chund Jee's expenses, servants, apparel, etc.

300 for the lady to spend in charitable and pious purposes.

300 for Manick's support who is to live with the daughter-in-law.

200 for the holy purposes.

100 for Manick's necessary charges.

900 for household expenses of every kind. If they wish to expend more than his sum, they may act as they choose the money being their own, and annual (profit) may be received, and there is no scarcity in any respect whatever : should amity not exist with Bukshumull, they will act as appears best to them ; after Baboo Dya Chund's marriage the annual expenses are to amount to one thousand rupees.

FOLIO (2).

Nikkree Bhabee's account 30,000 thirty thousand rupees.

10,000 for Baboo Girdharee's maintenance.

2,000 to Poopo for gifts and charitable purpose.

1,000 to the two Bahoos (daughters-in-law).

1,000 to Narayanee for gifts, etc.

14,000

The remaining sixteen thousand for Bhabee Jee's maintenance. 2,000 employ two thousand of this in holy purposes and place the remainder in a secure place, at a low interest, if you think proper, but this is not my advice. You should keep the money in your own hands, fourteen thousand is sufficient to maintain you the whole of your life, and by lending out money it may be loss, and it is sufficient to maintain you all your lifetime. The management of the donations in charity is Bhabee Jee's, and no one has a right to interfere therein. Should Girdhari Mull not conduct himself properly and be disobedient, you will keep the 10,000 Rs. in your own possessions, and pay him 600 Rs. per annum, for his food and raiment. Baboo Syamjee made several buildings at Moorshidabad in which my money was employed, but I have no claim on them, Nikkree Bhabee being mistress of the whole at Moorshidabad; should any other lay a claim it is false. Should Bhabee Jee think Girdhari Mull fit for the *gomastaship* she may appoint, being mistress to do so, and let all the relations comply with her will.

FOLIO (3).

Particular of what remains in charge of, Baboo Hazooree Mull and Mootee Chund

32,000 thirty-two thousand as follows :

5,000 five thousand to the daughter-in-law for gifts and charitable purposes.

4,000 for Motee Chund's wedding.

1,000 to Neeloo.

1,500 to Mautee and other girls. Let the daughter-in-law settle the distribution.

500 to be given to *Rammoo Jee, for gifts and charitable purposes, exclusive of which, you will make her an allowance for her maintenance, according to what you can afford.

I have given wherewith to Huzzooree Mull to maintain himself, he has no further claim on my estate; my whole estate is the property of Sree Gobindjee Nannuck, I give you authority that after my death the reputation may be preserved.

I have* placed you in my room, may Sree Jee preserve you, you will exceed me in doing good and a mass great wealth you will give the girls of the house after my death for their subsistence

5,000 to Luckkea, but let her remain under the order of Nikkree Bhabee and Hoozzoree Mull Baboo. There is plenty for food and raiment exclusive of this. Luckee has no claim.

2,000 to Shamma. Let her remain under the order of the daughter-in-Law.

500 to Koondun.

500 to Hurdausee.

400 to Raaurkee.

500 to Chanuda.

500 to Shaum Dausee.

300 Fundun's marriage

400 to Sooneah.

400 to Radheeah.

400 to Bishnee.

100 to Kishnee Nikkree Bhabee's.

200 to Counjoo Daye's gifts and charitable purposes

100 Maultee's reward.

400 to Gungeca.

700 to Bundagee, at her son and daughter's wedding 300, maintenance 400.

200 to Suddah's mother, for charitable purposes.

500 to daye's and dependants on the inner apartments.

12,800 twelve thousand eight hundred.

As long as I exist, I shall take all proper care ; after my death all is a gift. But the money is to remain in the hands of Nikkree Bhabee and Hoozzoree Mull Baboo. Let them take the same care of all that I did, and let them give double the wages I do. After my decease, should any one wish to act unconformable to your wills, punish such person, and pay the allowance or stop it, just as you please. Should they receive the money into their own hands, they will not mind any one ; it is necessary to keep them in subjection. Whatever

ornaments are to be made after my decease, are to be made out of this money. Let this money remain in the hands of the Baboo, and Nikkree Bhabee will cause clothes and raiment to be furnished by the Baboo out of the profits arising thereon. Should any one be ill or die, then the donation is to be applied to the rites of the deceased, and distributed at the meeting. Pay ten rupees monthly for the donation to Lukkeah, and let Lukkeah remain under the order of Nikkree Bhabee. The sum allowed for the support of Ooday Coour Bahoo has been set down under the charge of the Burrah Beebee; it is requisite that this child should remain with Nikkree Bhabee at my house; but the Beebee is mistress. I settle this business myself, my credit being concerned, that she should remain in the house. Keep the child Manick Chand near you, and instruct him he being an offspring of the master, he is to be under Ooday Coour and with her; she will have him married. Should Dukhinee Roy make any disturbance on this settlement, it is futile.

FOLIO (4).

The Beebee is sole mistress. If Dya Chund acts conformable to her wishes, and makes himself fit for to transact merchantile affairs she may then place some money in his hands, and let him have the management thereof. If however Dya Chund should act contrary to the lady's will in any respect, let her not pay any money to him, except one hundred rupees monthly, for palankeen hire, raiment, etc., making annually twelve hundred rupees; paying which, all other disbursements, for food and other household expenses for the daughter-in-law, are under the Beebee's sole management.

FRANCIS GLADWIN AND HIS DICTIONARY.

Of the very few Englishmen who preceded Sir William Jones in the study of the Oriental languages Francis Gladwin, a Bengal Civil Servant, was one. The honour of first studying an Oriental language in Bengal belongs to a man whose name has long since been forgotten. In the year 1677 a person of the name

of J. Marshall, employed in the factory of Cassimbazar in the district of Moorshidabad, was the first to break the ice in studying Sanskrit. He made a translation of the *Sanskrit Book entitled Serebaugabut Pooran* in the English language which was transmitted to England and was deposited in the British Museum.* The philological exertions of Marshall, however, led to no ulterior results. The study of the Oriental language was not followed up by the factors and merchants of the East India Company who found a more agreeable occupation in measuring ells of cloth than in scanning the measures of Oriental poetry, and a century was suffered to elapse before the study was resumed by Francis Gladwin. The British factory had immediately grown up into a kingdom, and at the commencement of Gladwin's study, its destinies were placed in the hands of Warren Hastings, one of the greatest names on Anglo-Indian historical record. It was not the least of his merits that he encouraged and liberally patronised men like Francis Gladwin, Charles Wilkins and others who entered upon the unbeaten path of Eastern philology and eventually founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Francis Gladwin addressed the following letter to enable him to bring out his *A Compendious Vocabulary English and Persian compiled for the East India Company* :—

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,—The great Inconveniences which I experienced in attempting to acquire a Knowledge of the Asiatic Languages from the Want of those Helps which are to be obtained in the Prosecution of European Studies, induced me to employ my Leisure Time in forming a Collection of those Words which are of most general Use.

* British Museum Harl. Ms. 4253-55.

It imperceptibly grew to a large Size, and as I found it of much Service to me in my Intercourse with the Natives, I took a good deal of Pains in arranging and correcting it. After comparing it with the invaluable Work of Meninoki, and with the voluminous Dictionaries compiled in Persia and Hindustan, I employed some of the most learned Natives to assist me in completing the Undertaking, many of whom have been engaged upon it a considerable time at a great Expence.

I now Gentlemen present you with a Specimen of the Performance upon the Arrangement of which it may be necessary to trouble you with a few Observations.

I have placed the Languages in the Order you see them, Gentlemen, to shew in what Manner the Arabic is incorporated with the Persic, and to exhibit how the Persic is inflected in the Hindouse, as well as to endeavour to discover some Traces of the Shanskerit Language in the Bengal Dialect. The two last Columns are written in Arabic Characters for the sake of accenting the Words, the Letters in the Nustallick being too much blended together to admit of the diacritical Marks being placed distinctly over each Letter and I have added the Hindostany in Roman Characters for the Benefit of those who have not Leisure or Inclination to study the Persian Language.

Should you Gentlemen so far approve of my attempt as to think it may be of any public Utility, I could have no Objection to printing it, provided I was insured from sustaining any Loss by the Publication. But I beg leave Gentlemen to represent that printing so extensive a Work in Persian Types (it containing near sixty Thousand Words in the several Languages) must unavoidably be attended with a great Expence, which joined to the heavy Charge I have already incurred makes it an Undertaking beyond my Ability; and more especially as the work from being calculated chiefly for the Benefit of those who are employed in transacting the Company's Affairs in India will probably meet with little Encouragement from the public in General.

I therefore hope that if the Work is deemed worthy of being published the Hon'ble Board will subscribe for a

considerable Number of Copies ; and that they will be pleased to recommend it to the Protection of the Court of Directors.

The Shanskerit and Bengale, from the particular Manner in which they must be printed, will make a considerable Part of the Expencc, so that I apprehend I could not publish the Work complete at less than sixty Arcot Rupees per Sett, but if Gentlemen you should think that with the first six Columns only it will be sufficient for Use, I would venture, with the assistance I have solicited, to offer a Copy for fifty Arcot Rupees.

I am with the greatest Respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

(Sd.) FRAS. GLADWIN.

FORT WILLIAM, }
and October 1775. }

Needless to say, Warren Hastings supported Gladwin's proposal and aided him liberally. His dictionary was published in 1780 at Malda.

FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN CALCUTTA.

The first printing press set up in Bengal was at Hugli in 1778. The account we have of the Hugli press is very singular. The first book printed there was Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengali Language printed at Hooghly in Bengal, MDCCLXXVIII*. In his preface the author relates that fruitless attempts had been made by Mr. William Bolts to make a fount of Bengali types in London and that then

"The advice and even solicitation of the Governor-General prevailed upon Mr. Wilkins, a gentleman who has been some years in the India Company's Civil Service in Bengal, to undertake a set of Bengali types. He did, and his success has exceeded every expectation. In a country so remote from

all connection with European Artists, he has been obliged to charge himself with all the various occupations of the Metallurgist, the Engraver, the Founder and the Printer. To the merit of invention, he was compelled to add the application of personal labour. With a rapidity unknown in Europe, he surmounted all the obstacles which necessarily clog the first rudiments of a difficult art, as well as the disadvantages of solitary experiment; and has thus simply exhibited his work in a state of perfection which in every part of the world has appeared to require the united improvements of different projectors, and the gradual polish of successive ages.

"The gentlemen at the head of Indian affairs do not want to be told of the various impositions and forgeries with which Bengal at present abounds in Pottahs or (Leases) in Bonds and other written securities of property, in Rowanahs and Dustuks, in Orders and Notices of Government issued in the country languages; as well as in all the transactions of commerce, and also with Processes, Warrants and Decrees of the supreme and inferior courts of Judicature; all of which afford ample scope for the exertion of Mr. Wilkins' ingenuity.

"His success in this branch has enabled Great Britain to introduce all the more solid advantages of European literature among a people whom she has already secured from Asiatic slavery—to promote the circulation of wealth, by giving new vigor and despatch to business, and to forward the progress of civil society by facilitating the means of intercourse."

The Government of Warren Hastings took into their consideration the question of establishing a printing press in Calcutta under the superintendence of Mr. Charles Wilkins and of fixing the rates of printing as the following extract from the Records will show:—

TO J. P. AURIOL, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,—The Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council having thought proper to establish a Printing Office under the Superintendence of Mr. Charles Wilkins, I am directed to transmit you the enclosed Copy of the Rates of Printing and

to desire that you will prepare and furnish Mr. Wilkins with Copies of all such Papers in your office as will admit of being printed, whether in the Persian, Bengal or Roman Character, leaving Blanks for Names, Dates and other occurrences as are liable to alter, and specifying the Number of each Form usually issued in the course of a year.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Sd.) GEO. HODGSON,

Revenue Department,

Secretary.

FORT WILLIAM, the 8th January 1779.

Copy.

Rates of Printing.

For English Impressions.

For every Quire of Folio Post, Paper included.

If Printed on One Side	...	Sa. Rs. 3
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If Printed on both sides " 5
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For Persian and Bengali.

For every Quire of Folio Post Printed on

one side	" 5
----------	-----	-----	-----

Do.	Do.	...	" 7
-----	-----	-----	-----

(Sd.) W. WEBBER,

Revenue Dept.

Sub-Secretary.

A true Copy.

But nothing came of this matter. Soon after James Augustus Hicky set up a printing press to publish his notorious *Bengal Gazette*. This was the first printing press of Calcutta. In 1784 Francis Gladwin set up the *Calcutta Gazette Press*. The Government of Bengal entrusted all its printing business to this press. In 1801 Lord Wellesley prepared the following plan for the establishment of a Government Printing press and proposed to print an official *Gazette* accompanied with a newspaper, but the plan was not

carried into execution on account of the expense with which it was supposed that it would be attended.

Plan for Establishing a Government Printing Press, humbly submitted to the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor-General by His Lordship's Command.

From calculation founded on authentic Documents it appears that a Printing Office, upon the most extensive Plan, might be established and maintained, fully adequate to every use Government could apply it at an annual expense of 90,000 Sicca Rupees exclusive of such allowance as Government may think proper to allot for the superintendence of it, but including an allowance for the future supply of printing materials. This may appear a large sum, but when contrasted with the actual present expense of Manuscript Records and Correspondence, together with the charge hitherto incurred for Printing, it will exhibit an important reduction of Expence, at the same time that the adoption of the Plan will produce a degree of accuracy and expedition in the execution of the Public Business in every Department highly worthy of the consideration of Government.

2. The following is a Statement of the existing Expences that would become objects of reduction under this Plan, and taken, where the fixed charges could be ascertained, from the Civil Auditor's Book, and, those of a fluctuating nature, estimated at the lowest rate :—

Printing Charges/	Average of four years/	..	156,118
Section Writers	...	...	51,608
Fixed Writers	...	...	15,000
Stationary	...	...	5,000
Minute Savings	...	...	5,000
<hr/>			
Per Annum	...	Sa Rs.	232,726
<hr/>			

These charges must unavoidably increase with the increasing prosperity of the British Empire in India.

3. The following is an abstract of the Expense that will attend the establishment of a Government Press :—

				Rs.
1	Head Printer, or Corrector	...	...	500
3	Foremen	...	...	500
4	Compositors, at Rs. 150	...	...	600
4	Do. „ 100	...	...	400
8	Do. „ 80	...	...	640
16	Do. „ 50	...	...	800
32	Do. „ 40	...	...	1,280
16	Apprentices „ 25	...	...	400
Correctors and Compositors of the Native Languages whose number or allowances cannot here be particularised as they must be paid according to their abilities				500
Servants and Native Workmen				300
House rent for the Office including Lodging for the apprentices and Apartments for the Superintendent, His Deputy or Assistant				600
Contingencies including a supply of new Types				800
Native Writers and Accountant for the News Paper, etc. ...				180

Per Month Sa Rs. 7,500

Per Annum Sa Rs. 90,000

To the above Sum must be added the Allowances that Government may think proper to allot to the Persons entrusted with the Superintendence of the Plan. These Charges will be sufficient for the performance of the business enumerated in the 1st paragraph, and may embrace a variety of useful public forms and Documents which Government have hitherto been deterred from Printing by the expense, but the utility of which to the Public Service is too obvious to require any detailed explanation. The impossibility of procuring occasional

workmen for any extraordinary pressure of business, as is the practice in English Printing Offices, will explain why it is deemed necessary to employ so numerous an establishment.

4. The following is a comparative Statement of the Expense attending the present and the proposed Plans, exhibiting the Annual Savings that will accrue from the adoption of the latter.

Amount of reduction as stated in Paragraph 2,	232,726
Expense of the proposed Establishment as	
in Paragraph 3	90,000
Total Annual Saving ...	142,726

(exclusive of the Superintendent's Allowance)

To the above reduction of Expense may be added the Profits arising from the Publication of a Gazette under the authority of Government which may be reasonably estimated at 25,000 Sicca Rupees Per Annum making the whole Annual Saving amount to 167,726 Sicca Rupees Per Annum. This Saving does not include the possible Expense in the case of Packets lost on the Voyage to Europe, which, in the instance of the *Zephyr*, captured some time since, would have amounted to 40,000 Sa. Rs. and might, in many other instances, have exceeded even that enormous Sum.

5. The Gazette may be published on such days and contain such Articles of public notification as the Governor-General may think proper to direct, and may be accompanied by a News Paper containing articles of Intelligence and Private Advertisements to be published under the inspection and controul of the Chief Secretary, but not to be considered, like the Gazette of an Official Communication.

6. The adoption of this Plan must so materially affect the interests of the Proprietors of the Press* at present employed by Government, that the following observations tending to remove any difficulties that may arise thereon, may not be deemed improper to be introduced in this place. The profits

* Calcutta Gazette Press.

they at present derive fall under four distinct heads. *First.* The allowance paid by Government for publishing their advertisements in the Weekly Paper. *Second.* The profits on the Extra Printing business of Government. *Third.* The general profits on Advertisements and Subscriptions of Individuals. And *Fourth.* The profits on the private use of their Press by Individuals although it might at the first view be thought that the 3rd and 4th Heads do not come within the scope of consideration in the present case, yet it is not difficult to shew that they are all more or less influenced by the employ of Government. Those of the 3rd Head may be judged of, when the necessity of all the Civil Servants taking the Gazette is considered. This greatly increases the number of Papers circulated, and by extending the circulation renders the Gazette the most certain and general channel for communicating advertisements to the Public. The 4th Head tho' less affected than the others still feels indirectly a portion of the same influence; for it is the employ of Government that renders it necessary for the Proprietors to entertain large establishment and provide large quantities of Printing materials by which they are enabled to undertake and execute works for Individuals with more expedition and effect and at cheaper Rates than Proprietors of other Printing Offices can. Under these circumstances the hypothetical calculation will answer to form an opinion upon. Suppose the whole Gross income of the Gazette to be 200,000 Sicca Rupees annually. The establishment kept up Sicca Rs. 50,000. The extraordinary expences of the Office, including Postage, etc., 25,000 Sicca Rs. and Bad Debts Sicca Rs. 25,000. There remains 100,000 Sicca Rupees net Profit, three-fourths of which may be fairly supposed to arise directly or indirectly from the influence of the Company's employ; and at least, one Half belongs solely to the 2nd Head of Profit above stated and of which the present Proprietors would be wholly deprived by the establishment of a Government Press. Hence it may be inferred that it is the interest of the Proprietors rather to give up the whole to Government on reasonable terms than to lose three-fourths without any compensation.

• •

7. To give the Plan its full effect the following observations on the manner of conducting it are submitted for consideration.

That the Papers to be printed for the Secret Department of the Secretary's Office shall be kept in a distinct Apartment under charge of the Superintendant and his sworn Assistants and transmitted only through the Superintendant who shall personally attend the Press and be responsible for the safety and secrecy of the Papers so intrusted to him.

As the success of the Plan depends much on the regular transmission of Papers to the Press it will be necessary that the Secretaries and other Public Officers should enforce the most punctual attention to this point.

The Superintendant should reside in the Office, and Apartments should also be allotted for his Deputy and the Apprentices who should reside under the care of the Deputy.

To prevent the clashing that might arise from a multiplicity of orders, the Superintendant should receive his Orders from the Chief Secretary and the Secretaries to the Government, and also the Governor-General's private Secretary, and from no others, except such as shall relate to the printing of the Proceedings of the Subordinate Boards.

The magnitude, novelty and difficulty of executing the Duty allotted to the Superintendant of the proposed plan will require the unremitted attention of the person entrusted with it, by night and by day. It will therefore be necessary, as well as to prevent any delay arising in case of his illness to join another person with him in the trust in the capacity of Deputy or Assistant as the Governor-General may deem proper.

Instructions may be issued to the heads of all the Civil and Military Offices under Government to consider and consult with the Superintendant on such forms or other matters relating to the business under them respectively which they think may be printed with advantage to the Public Service and report the same to the Governor-General for his Sanction.

8. Every part of the foregoing Plan may be carried into immediate effect whenever Government may think proper, with the exception of the Books of Proceedings, for which there

is reason to apprehend no printing Office in India could supply a sufficiently extensive Fount of Types, as they cannot, like separate Paper be printed on Types of different sizes. Indeed it may be remarked that even in Europe few Founts have ever been cast sufficient for the purpose as the Proceedings are calculated to require at least *Thirty Folio Sheets* per Diem to be printed off and the Founts in this Country seldom exceed 8 or 10 Sheets. It will therefore be necessary to have one cast on purpose which can easily be done in England, without any additional expense except the trifling one of so much additional weight of Types. It will also be necessary both for the durability and beauty of the Proceedings, to have them printed on Paper made for the purpose in England and sent out with the Types; and that a regular supply should be furnished in future on Indents from hence. These considerations however by no means interfere with the reduction of expense in other branches of the business as may be seen in the following calculations.

Average of the Printing Charges at present	...	...	...	Sa Rs. 156,118
Proposed Establishment supposing the whole to be kept up	...	...	...	90,000
Add the expense of Stationery including in the present printing charges	...	...	...	16,000
			————	106,000
Annual saving (except the Superintendants' Salary)	...	...	...	50,118
Add Profits on the News Paper	...	...	...	25,000
			————	
Total present annual saving	...	...	...	75,118
			————	

Such is the Saving supposing the plan to be only partially adopted, but to this saving a large addition would eventually be made, though it cannot now be estimated, by the variety of Forms, and other current Official Documents which hitherto have not been printed. A further saving may be made by a reduction of a part of the Establishment until

the Printing of the Proceedings shall commence, but on this a question arises whether such a reduction ought to be recommended, as a beginning may even now be made, either by Printing the Records of one Department, or by Printing the General Letters and Records now extant as the Governor-General may think proper to decide ; for the execution of which a sufficient Fount, may, it is believed, be now procurable in Calcutta.

In concluding this Outline of so important an undertaking it may not be improper to mention, that by the establishment of a Government Press, persons possessed of materials, the publication of which might be beneficial to the East India Company, and to the Public, may be induced to give them to the World, under the authority and patronage which they might appear to merit.

The annexed printed Sheet though not so complete as it might be from the necessity of procuring it privately will sufficiently answer the purpose of a specimen of the Form and Style of Printing the Proceedings, although not of the Paper intended to be used, which will be of a kind at least 50 per cent. cheaper than that now used for the Manuscript Proceedings, and the Quantity used will be reduced in the proportion of above three-fourths of what is now expended.

In addition to the positive, and to the eventual, savings of Expense by the Establishment of a Printing Press, as already proved, it is necessary to state a further most important argument for the prompt execution of the measure in question, namely, the Institution of the College at Fort William since this plan was drawn up (in April 1800) and the practicability now ascertained of casting every Type for the European and Oriental Languages, at this Presidency without any reference to the Artists in England.

Lord Wellesley noted thus on the above Plan :—

In a political view, a powerful motive arises in favor of the proposed Establishment. The increase of private printing Presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the first magnitude in its consequences ; of this sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year

1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and to the Public, and dubiously profitable to the Speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence a few European Adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence. The establishment of a Press by the Supreme Government would effectually silence those which now exist, and would as certainly prevent the establishment of such in future.

HICKY AND HIS NOTORIOUS "BENGAL GAZETTE."

In Dr. H. E. Busteed's delightful *Echoes from Old Calcutta* the reader is entertained with very many interesting facts about the origin of the first Indian newspaper and its originator, James Augustus Hicky. On the 14th November 1780 Warren Hastings stopped the circulation of the paper through the Post Office for containing "several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private character and to disturb the peace of the settlement." Dr. Busteed is of opinion that "impudence directed against his wife was probably the only aggression coming from such a quarter which would have claimed the notice, or arouse the indignation of the Governor-General." But he is not sure as to "whether the liberty publicly taken with Mrs. Hastings produced or only precipitated" the prohibition and tells us that it is more than likely "that Hastings himself was the promoter of it"

We now know from the Records of the Government of India that two days before the promulgation of the prohibition, Mr. Simeon Droze, then a Senior Civil Servant of the Company's Bengal Establishment, addressed the following complaint to the Governor-General, and it is certain that in consequence of this complaint the Government, as a punishment, stopped

the circulation of the paper through the channel of the General Post Office.

Dr. Busteed further writes :— “ It would be interesting to know what Francis thought of this high-handed proceeding. Under many Latin *aliases*, he had been in England, the eloquent upholder of freedom of speech and liberty of the press, ‘ that just prerogative of the people.’ Did he now oppose, or did he assent to the issue of this order from a Council of which he was the Senior Member ? ” But curiously enough in the Home Department Consultations of this time, there is a bare mention of this order in the Public Body Sheet immediately following Simeon Droze’s complaint, and it appears from the absence of any discussion on the matter that Francis silently acquiesced in the order of prohibition which was most probably moved by Warren Hastings in Council. And it is more than likely that Simeon Droze’s complaint was the spark which put to flame Hastings’ indignation against Hicky for impudence directed against his wife.

TO THE HON’BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,—Forgive me if I trespass on your time by this address.

The unmerited and Insolent abuse bestow’d on me in a Weekly publication of Mr. Hicky’s paper obliges me to solicit you for redress.

I am convinced it is your wish to protect every individual residing under your Government who conducts himself with propriety, and as Mr. Hicky must undoubtedly as a British Subject be under your Orders, I flatter myself you will not permit such daring and wanton Insolence to pass unnoticed.

Give me leave to assure you Gentlemen that Mr. Hicky is without, a Cause for this attack, for even the reason he assigns ‘ for making it is not true. I have not been at all

instrumental in encouraging a paper in Opposition* to his, if I had I could not be wrong, but I mention the circumstance to show how prone this Man is to do mischief.

I flatter myself you will excuse the liberty I take in intruding on your more weighty concerns. I would not have attempted it, but that I think I owe it to my Character, and Station in the service, and to the Community in general, who are all equally liable to be insulted, to seek for redress by every proper and Legal method.

I am with respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

CALCUTTA, 12th November 1780.

SIMEON DROZE.

Exasperated at Hicky's libels, Warren Hastings brought against him in the Supreme Court three criminal prosecutions and one civil suit for damages, the proceedings of which can be read in Justice John Hyde's Note-books reproduced in the *Bengal : Past and Present*, January-April 1909. All these suits were decided against Hicky, and he was sent to jail. And even then he did not bend the knee. In January 1782 Hastings addressed the following complaint to the Council :—

TO EDWARD WHELER, ESQ., ETC., ETC., COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.

GENTLEMEN,—I was this morning presented with the Copy of an infamous Libel which I think it my Duty to introduce to your notice for the purpose of soliciting your assistance both in detecting the author of it, and of devising some means of checking a practice so pernicious to the peace of the Community and to the character of every Individual in it. It contains a charge against Colonel Blair of having delivered to me a Bill for the sum of 42,000 Rupees for the

* The India Gazette.

Expence of the Entertainment of myself and my party during the Time of my retreat and Residence with him at Chunar. It will be a sufficient refutation of the Falsehood of it, that I myself declare it not only to be such, but that it is totally devoid of every shadow of Foundation. I have had more than one occasion during the course of the late Events to publish my Testimony of the Esteem in which I held the Conduct and Character of Colonel Blair as an Officer. I am now warranted, and deem it equally a Justice due from me to him, to express my personal obligations to him in his private character for the hospitable Treatment which I received from him at the period which I have mentioned above, and for the most ingenuous, kind and assiduous attention shewn by him not only to myself but to every Gentleman of my party. Accustomed as I have been to the Shafts of secret Defamation, I will own that I feel a severer pain from the wound thus aimed at an amiable and worthy character than if I had been myself the Object of it, by seeing my own name employed as an Instrument for inflicting it. It can be of little service to throw the Calumny on its ostensible author. His Condition and the public Infamy which has been stamped on his Name, and which he has courted as the Means of Livelyhood place him beyond the reach of Shame, as he is perhaps beyond that of legal Chastisement. The punishment is due only to the concealed Assassin, and while the Imputation floats at large, every Man on whom it may casually light must feel himself interested in the Detection of it, those excepted, if there are any such, whose Baseness requires such Artifices to reduce the reputations of others to a Level with their own. It is for these reasons that I entreat the Board to join with me in inviting the Gentlemen of the army to use every means both public and individual, for discovering the real Author of this abuse; and at the same Time to permit my refutation of it to be published in general Orders by their authority. I must do the Officers of Berham-poor the Justice to declare my Conviction amounting almost to a Certainty that the Date of this complicated Villainy was falsely ascribed to that Quarter, for the purpose of assisting

the Concealment of the place from which it did really proceed. It was fabricated beyond the Caramnassa, it was reported to me at Chunar more than two months ago, and received its first refutation at the same place. I have no doubt that the revival of it arose from the same quarter, whoever was the Inventor. I hope and believe that among my Countrymen in this Branch of the British Dominion there are not Two minds tainted with a Depravity equal to such an Attempt.

I hope I shall not need your Excuse either for the warmth or Length of this address on a subject so foreign from the ordinary course of official Communication.

I have the Honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

ON THE RIVER,

16th January 1782.

The Letter published by Mr. Hicky in his Gazette of the 5th Instant dated at Calcutta the 25th December 1781 bearing the signature A. G. W., together with the letter enclosed in it which appears to have been received from Burrampore under date the 19th December 1781 and the Bill annexed to it for 42,000 Sicca Rupees signed William—Lieut.-Col. commanding at Chunar said to have been presented to the Governor-General before his departure from Chunangur having been seen by the Governor-General he has thought it necessary to write to the Board in refutation of the Charge which he declares to be totally devoid of every shadow of foundation and an infamous Libel and the Board heartily join with the Governor-General in making this fact known to the world and in expression, their united wish to discover the malicious Author of such a Calumny they do therefore entreat the Generals of the Army of both publickly and individually to use their endeavours to bring him to light at the same time the Board think it proper in justice to the officers at Burrampore to declare their conviction that the date of the Letter is falsely ascribed to that plan in order to conceal the quarter from which

it really proceeded, as they have good reason to believe that it was fabricated beyond the Caramnassa.

(Sd.) J. P. AURIOL,
Secretary.

Not long after this the types of Hicky's press were seized by Government, and the first Indian newspaper strangled by Warren Hastings.

DR. BUSTEED in pages 218-219 (4th Edition) of his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* thus writes :—

"A friend of mine (Mr. J. J. Cotton) was good enough to send me a copy of a document found amongst the records of the Accountant-General's Office, Bengal, *viz.*, a release or acknowledgment, signed Jas. A. Hicky, of the receipt of six thousand and odd rupees from the United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies through the Governor-General of Fort William, 'in full satisfaction and discharge' of a claim made by him in July 1793, for money stated to be due to him for printing and publishing certain Orders and Regulations for the Government relating to the army of the Company on the Bengal establishment. Though the attorney to the Company tendered the above sum in the same month, Hickey apparently did not accept it until March 1793. There is nothing to show when the claim arose, *i.e.*, whether before or after his imprisonment; the phraseology suggests an old debt."

The following letter shows how the claim of Hickey arose. He first made the claim in a petition dated 4th May 1788:—

SIR,—You acquainted me the other day that Mr. Hickey the Printer had made a claim on which the Board were desirous of having what Information I possessed relating to it. The underwritten memorandum contains what I recollect on that Subject *vizt.*

Sir Eyre Coote on his Arrival in 7-8-79 called for the Establishment and Milly. Regulations of the Army, then in force and finding them very voluminous and comprized in some Hundred Folio Sheets arising from Orders having been amended

Annulled and again revised in part no digest having been published since that promulgated by Sir Robt. Barker on his accession to the Command in 69—this induced Sir Eyre Coote to direct a digest to be formed of the Existing Orders and Establishment free from the confused and voluminous State in which they were comprized. This the Board approved and Sir Eyre Coote was desirous of having printed.

About this time Mr. Hickey set up a Printing Office and offered proposals for publishing a Weekly Newspaper and Sir Eyre Coote acquainted me that on applying to Mr. Hickey he had informed him that he would undertake to print the Digest of the Establishment in Six weeks or two months; and desired I would enable Mr. Hickey to print the digest; this I did, by giving Mr. Hickey (I think) nine of the first sheets in succession as he called for them—and of these Mr. Hickey sent me 9 proof Sheets very correctly done; but acquainted me that as he had pledged himself to the Settlement to furnish a Weekly Newspaper, he could not then proceed any further, but that at a future period he would endeavour to do it and requested me to give him a copy of the remaining part (of the digest); this I declined doing and wrote to Sir Eyre Coote thro' some of his family, of Mr. Hickey's declining to proceed in the Business in the manner Sir Eyre Coote acquainted me he had undertaken to do it. Sir Eyre Coote sent me no further directions being then (I believe) on his return to the Presidency and shortly afterwards Embarked for the Coast.*

I do not know if Mr. Hickey then made any Application to Sir Eyre Coote for payment of what he had done or Sir E. Coote having mentioned to the Board the expense he had incurred, but on his return in (I think) 82 I learned from an Application then made to me for Information respecting the matter that Mr. Hickey had applied to him for payment, and that I think the matter had been referred to Mr. Scaly and some others to settle the demand. On the nature of Mr. Hickey's subsequent applications to Government on the subject I am ignorant or whether he received anything from

* How many Impressions Mr. Hickey may have made of these nine sheets or what instructions he might have received from Sir Eyre Coote respecting the number to be made I do not know.

Sir Eyre Coote on the occasion, but if he has not it appears to me a great hardship in Mr. Hickey's not having been paid for what he did perform ; further I have little doubt that Sir E. Coote intended from the beginning to have defrayed this Charge either by public Application to the Board or from the Contingent Fund incident to the Office of Commander-in-Chief then held by him.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your obedt. humble servant,

11th August 1788.

(Sd.) ROBT. KYD.

ORIGIN OF THE "INDIA GAZETTE."

Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* was barely ten months old when a rival paper called the *India Gazette* was started and was given by Warren Hastings the privilege of circulating through the Post Office free of postage, as the following extracts from the Government Records will show. The elder paper did not enjoy this concession, and Hicky severely animadverted on this grievance. Dr. Busteed, for want of these documents calls the concession granted to the *India Gazette* as *alleged* by Hicky (p. 190 of his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*), but this was a real concession, and Hicky was justified in making it a grievance, though his severe animadversions on the manner in which the concession was procured from Warren . Hastings might be deemed quite contumacious.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND THE COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—Understanding that our plan of an intended Publication of a News Paper, has met with the favour of your approbation. We are encouraged to take the liberty of requesting the additional one of your further

Patronage, by granting us permission to send it to our different subscribers, out of Calcutta by the Dawk, free of Postage ; on our paying annually to the Post Master General such a certain sum ; as you shall think proper to direct : we likewise engageing that no other article or writing whatsoever shall go under the said Cover with the Newspaper, or Newspapers ; and that each Cover shall be endorsed India Gazette ; as well as seal'd with our joint names in Persian ; or indeed complying with any regulations You may please to Order.

We also humbly beg leave to take this Opportunity of soliciting the favor of our being appointed Printers to the Hon'ble Company at Calcutta ; which should you think proper to confer, it shall be our study and endeavour to do our duty ; by executeing with correctness and dispatch, all Orders sent to our care.

We have the honour to be with the greatest Respect—

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient

and humble servants,

(Sd.) B. MESSINK.

CALCUTTA, 4th October 1780.

(Sd.) PETER REED.

TO THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., SUPREME
COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,—The Hon'ble Board having been pleased amongst other Regulations passed in April last to order that all Letters and Packets whatever received and forwarded thro' the Post Office should pay Postage agreeable to the established rates observed with common Letters with an exception only of the *India Gazette* published by Mr. Messink which indulgence to him was owing to his having previously to the above period procured the privilege of sending those Papers free of Postage for six months, at the expiration of which time the Hon'ble Board were to determine on the rate of Postage to be paid for them, which determination not having yet been received, I beg leave to request they will be pleased to inform me whether the abovenamed Papers are to

pay Postage in the same manner as other Packets and Letters forwarded by the Post Office.

I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect—

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Yours very Obedient,

Humble Servant,

GENERAL POST OFFICE,

H. C. PLOWDEN,

Calcutta, 24th November 1781.

Post Master-General.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND ETC. MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—The time for which you were pleased to grant me free postage for the *India Gazette* being expired, permit me to return my grateful thanks for a privilege that has been of such advantage to me, and to request that you will still allow it to pass at the different Post Offices, on my agreeing to pay such Annual Sum, as you shall think fit to stipulate.

My inability to pay full postage (which would amount to nearly the whole profits of the paper) is the cause of my addressing you upon this subject, the bare mention of this circumstance, and the line of conduct I have observed in the *India Gazette*, from which I never mean to depart, will, I flatter myself, induce you to grant me some indulgence.

It might be considered improper in me to say how much I could afford to pay for postage, I shall therefore be silent on that subject, but, as I imagine the privilege heretofore granted me has incurred no extraordinary expence to the Post Office, and, as I have lately reduced the paper to one half of its former weight, I hope the Hon'ble Board considering that a Gazette on the plan I have adopted may be of utility, will, be pleased to fix the Annual Sum to be paid by me so as not to compel me to burthen my subscribers (out of Calcutta) with an additional tax, as I have reason to fear it would be the cause of my losing many of them.

I am with due respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

CALCUTTA :

Your most Obedt. Humble Servt.,

11th of March 1782.

B. MESSING.

GLADWIN AND THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMOUS "CALCUTTA GAZETTE."

The famous *Calcutta Gazette* owed its origin to the initiative of Francis Gladwin to whom we have referred already. The first number was issued on the 4th March 1784. Though Gladwin was then a Senior Covenanted Civilian, the official department of the paper was kept quite distinct from the editorial, and the Government was in no way connected or identified with the management or politics of the paper, but only used it as a medium for making known general orders, requisitions and official notices of all sorts. The paper was never regarded by the Government as their official organ, and though conducted by one of their Civil Servants, they took particular care to check any excesses on his part in his editorial capacity. Thus on 10th February 1785, an announcement appeared in the editorial column of the *Calcutta Gazette* saying that the Honourable Governor-General and Council had expressed their entire disapprobation of some extracts from English papers which appeared in the editorial part of the paper on 30th September 1748.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-
GENERAL AND ETC. MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—I humbly presume that to establish an Authorised Gazette, under the immediate Superintendence of a Covenanted Servant, who should be made responsible for it's Contents, would be a measure of public Utility, and as such not Unworthy of the attention of Government, besides being the Channel for Conveying the Proclamations and Orders of Government and Ordinary Articles of Intelligence, it might be made particularly Useful to the Junior part of the Company's Servants by the insertion of Extracts from the most approved Persian Authors; in the

original Character with English Translations, and thus facilitate their Improvement in that Language, the study of which has been so frequently recommended to them by the Court of Directors.

If this plan is honored with your Approbation, I entreat Gentlemen, you will condescend to grant me the Sanction of your Authority for Printing such a Gazette and that you will direct the heads of the respective Departments of Government to make my Paper the exclusive Channel for the Publication of the Company's Orders. I ask no particular Indulgence but I flatter myself you will allow my Gazette to go by the public Dawk at half postage being the rate established at the Post Office for other News Papers.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) FRAS. GLADWIN.

FORT WILLIAM, *the 2nd February 1784.*

Public Con., 9th February 1784, No. 20.

Agreed that Mr. Gladwin be authorized to publish a Gazette under the sanction of this Board and that the Heads of offices be directed to issue all such Advertisements or Publications as may be ordered on the Part of the Company, thro' the Channel of his paper.

Letter from Mr. Gladwin, 2nd February. Agreed to in the terms of his application.

Reve. Dept.

6th Febr. 1784.

W. WEBBER,

Secretary.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST CENSORSHIP ON THE BENGAL PRESS.

In 1799 in consequence of the number of improper paragraphs which had appeared in the newspapers, the Government of Lord Wellesley established censorship on the Bengal Press and published the following regulations for their strict compliance :—

1. Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.

2. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary to Government.

3. No paper to be published on Sunday.

4. No paper to be published at all until it have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose.

5. The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

These regulations were communicated to the proprietors and editors of the then existing newspapers who severally addressed the Government the following correspondence, promising strict compliance therewith. These regulations were extended to other papers as they started. For the guidance of the Secretary to Government in his inspection of the newspapers, Lord Wellesley prescribed the following rules :—

1. To prevent the publication of all observations on the state of public credit, or the revenues, or the finances of the Company.

2. All observations respecting the embarkation of troops, stores or specie, or respecting any Naval or Military preparations whatever.

3. All intelligence respecting the destination of any ships, or the expectation of any whether belonging to the Company or to individuals.

4. All observations with respect to the conduct of Government, or any of its officers, Civil or Military, Marine, Commercial or Judicial.

5. All private scandals or libels on individuals.

6. All statements with regard to the probability of war or peace between the Company and any of the native powers.

7. All observations tending to convey information to an enemy or to excite alarm or commotion within the Company's Territories.

8. The republication of such passages from the European newspapers as may tend to affect the influence and credit of the British Power with the Native states.

Some of these rules were only applicable to a state of war and were not uniformly or rigidly enforced in times of peace.

TO G. H. BARLOW, ESQ., SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

SIR,—In answer to your letter just received I have to inform you that I am the proprietor of the *Bengal Hercaarah*, and at present, generally conduct it myself. The Printer Mr. Urquhart has always affixed his name to the bottom of the paper.

As the paper ought to be circulated in Calcutta early to-morrow morning, the failure of which would disappoint the subscribers, I shall be glad to be informed to whom and where it is to be sent for inspection.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient servt.,

(Sd.) B. HUNTER.

CALCUTTA, 13th May 1799.

G. H. BARLOW, ESQ., Secretary to the Government.

SIR,—In obedience to the orders of the Vice-President in Council, we beg leave to inform you, that we the undersigned are the Proprietors, Editors, (Mr. Bush, the late Editor, having relinquished the management of the Paper) and Printers of the *Calcutta Morning Post*, which Paper is printed and published under the Firm of Ferris and Company ;—and that we have been regularly brought up to the Art of Printing, by which profession we earn our livelihood, and consider it as a duty incumbent in us to comply in every respect to the Regulations of Government.

Archibald Thomson and Paul Ferris at present reside in the office, No. 1, Old Court House Street; Samuel Greenway in Mangoe Lane.

We have the Honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble servants.
(Sd.) A. THOMSON.
„ P. FERRIS.
„ S. GREENWAY.

Morning Post Office,
CALCUTTA, *15th May 1799.*

G. H. BARLOW, ESQ., Secretary to the Government.

SIR,—We have been honoured with your Letter of the 13th Instant in answer to which we beg leave to acquaint you for the information of the Honourable the Vice-President in Council that his Orders which were contained in it shall be most respectfully obeyed.

Conformably to the Orders above alluded to, we request to inform you, that we have no Editor to the *Calcutta Courier*, but are ourselves the sole Proprietors, Managers, and Printers of the same;—and that we have transferred the Day of our publication, from Sunday to Friday.

We are,
Sir,
Your most Obedient
Humble Servants,
(Sd.) THOMAS HOLLINGBERY,
ROBERT KNELN.

No. 3 Meeru Jauney Gully, }
CALCUTTA, }
15th Day of May 1799. }
Wednesday. }

G. H. BARLOW, ESQ., Secretary to the Government.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and shall strictly conform myself to the several regulations and orders therein contained.

I am Editor of the *Telegraph* and Proprietor of ~~the~~ of that paper, my place of residence Lyons Range.

Mr. H. D. Wilson is the Proprietor of the other ~~the~~ and his place of residence is in Merideth's Buildings

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

CALCUTTA, 15th May 1799.

(Sd.) H. MCKENLY.

SIR,—In pursuance of the order of Council for regulating the publication of Newspapers, I beg leave to inform you that I am Proprietor and Editor of the *Oriental Star*, and that I reside at the house of Mr. Brooke at Belvedere. My office is in the house of Dr. Haunter, Durrumtollah, and my printer's name is John Johnson. May I take the liberty of requesting to know at what hour on Friday evening I am to send the proof sheets for your inspection, if between the Hours of Eight and ten o'clock would suit your convenience, it would Enable me to publish the paper at the usual hour on Saturday Morning, but if those hours should happen to break in upon your time it is my duty to attend to any other you may think proper to mention.

I remain,

Sir,

With most Respect and Esteem,

Yours very obediently,

(Sd.) ARCHD. FLEMING.

BELVEDERE, 16th May 1799.

S. C. SANIAL.

Art. IV. —THE BICENTENARY OF THE PIANOFORTE : A LINK BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

ON the keyboard of the pianoforte there is, through mutual indebtedness, a meeting of East and West rarely if ever realised by those, be they swarthy or pale, whose hands finger it. For the Western world owes most of its orchestra, especially its brass instruments and those played with a bow, to the East, whence their prototypes were brought by the Crusaders. And the superb pianofortes which now adorn the palaces of Sultans, Caliphs, and Maharajahs owe their perfection to the Occidental genius for mechanical construction. In the latter half of the fourteenth century some nameless benefactor of mankind bethought him to apply to a stringed instrument, the monochord, the clavier or keyboard already, in the form of clumsy levers, familiar on the organ. Thereby he begot, not a single child of his brain, but a family—a whole tribe of instruments. In course of time so various in form had his progeny become that the wealthy collected them—monochords, clavichords, virginals, spinets, and harpsichords—as curios. Thus in 1598 Alphonso II, Duke of Modena, if organs be included, had fifty-three ; and a century later Prince Ferdinand dei Medici at least forty.

Now-a-days there is practically but one such instrument. Music is studied through the medium of the piano more than through the voice and all other instruments put together. With the exception of the organ, the instrument is unknown, solos on which are complete without a pianoforte accompaniment. Three voices or instruments must combine before the performers can bid

defiance to the piano. Unaccompanied duets—save as exercises—are virtually unknown. Of candidates for musical examinations, professional and amateur, a careful scrutiny shows that 82 per cent. are pianoforte students. All other subjects, including theory and singing, only muster the remaining 18 per cent. ! The instrument is ubiquitous : the house without one is unfurnished ; so is even the gentleman's yacht and the small passenger steamer.

And all this though compared with the harp, flute, organ, and its prototype the dulcimer, the piano is a thing of yesterday—it is fewer hundreds of years old than they are thousands ! Yet though the piano itself is new, its constituent elements are as old as the hills. The Oriental dulcimer, with its little hammers, is of almost prehistoric origin. And it has recently been discovered that a keyboard to be played with the fingers was known 300 B. C. And a piano is nothing more than a combination of the hammer-principle of the dulcimer with the keyboard principle of the harpsichord, spinet, and clavichord, in which the strings were twanged with a plectrum or struck with a tangent. Thus in the new instrument facility of execution was combined with power of expression, which previous clavier instruments lacked. It was the combination of Oriental art with occidental mechanism, which was new, not the features themselves. To this power of expression the name "*piano e forte*," meaning "soft and loud," was due. The name had been used before—as early as 1598—but for instruments the character of which is unknown. After much jealous wrangling the searching investigations of Cavaliere Leto Puliti, published in 1874, have left no doubt as to whom the honour of inventing the piano belongs to : it is to the

Italian, Bartolommeo Cristofori, a Florentine instrument maker. The playwright and antiquary Francisco Maffei states in "his *Giornale dei Letterati d' Italia*," that he had seen four "gravicembali col piano e forte" made by Cristofori. This was in 1709, so the instruments must have been made in that year or earlier. But the record in the *Giornale* was not published till 1711: hence, probably, the date commonly assigned for the invention of the piano being 1710. In addition to the instrument named by Maffei, Cristofori is known to have made a piano in 1720, and another in 1726, both of which are still in existence. Their compass is respectively four and four-and-a-half octaves. But his escapement, or means of meeting the rebound of the hammer was very imperfect; he was nearer sixty than fifty when he made the first four instruments, and in the land of its birth pianoforte—making soon came to a standstill. Within some six or seven years of Cristofori's invention, Marius, a Frenchman, and Cristoph G. Schroeter, a German, produced instruments of the keyed-dulcimer type, but they were much inferior to Cristofori's, and neither maker prosecuted his invention to any extent. The first manufacturer to meet with marked success and make any considerable number of instruments was Gottfried Silbermann, who had settled in Frieberg as an organ builder in 1712. His later instruments, though not the earlier, met with the approval of no less a judge than John Sebastian Bach. Despite this, for fifty years after its invention the new instrument appeared almost to have been still-born. Yet it only needed a man sufficiently gifted, and young enough to master the new touch—totally different from that of the harpsichord—to make the piano bound into a position with which successful rivalry was impossible. Such an

exponent the instrument found in John Christian Bach, eleventh son of the "great" Bach, and popularly known as the "English Bach" from his long residence in London. It is from his arrival there in 1759 that the rivalry between the piano and harpsichord may be said to have begun. The manufacture of pianos in England to any considerable degree may also be dated from his advent. And for a length of time London was the centre of the piano-making activity. Till the establishment of Erard's factory at Paris in 1777—or rather its re-establishment in 1796—France, if not Germany, drew her supplies from the English capital. At first the workmen were mostly foreigners, chiefly Italians, but these were soon replaced by British mechanics.

Hence while the honour of inventing the piano rests with Italy, where, in the cloisters of Santa Croce, a memorial tablet has been erected to Cristofori, that of perfecting it rests wholly with other countries, especially Great Britain, America and Germany. Thus an improvement second only in importance to the original invention of the instrument was evolved in London and on that account was known as the "English Action." This was the first satisfactory "escapement" or means whereby the hammer leaves the string free to vibrate after striking it, and at the same time can re-iterate the note with any degree of rapidity. It was the work of the Dutchman, Americus Backers assisted by the Scotsman, John Broadwood, and his apprentice, presumably English, Robert Stodart. And just as no improvement has been made in the violin since the time of Antonio Stradivarius in the early eighteenth century, so no material change has been made in the "escapement" of a pianoforte since the "English Action" of 1762. To the House of Broadwood

exclusively would appear to be due an improvement the value of which it would be difficult to exaggerate—indeed without which a piano would not to-day seem to be a piano. This is the sustaining, often miscalled the “loud,” pedal, invented in 1772. John Broadwood was also the inventor of one form of soft pedal. But the next epoch-making invention the introduction of metal into the frame-work, like most improvements, was due not to one but to several men. Chief among those to whom it is credited are Joseph Smith, who foreshadowed the idea as early as 1799; James Shudi Broadwood who tried it experimentally in 1804 and permanently in 1818; Isaac Hawkins, an Englishman at one time resident in America; William Allen, a Scotchman, and three Americans. These latter were: Alpheus Babcock, whose invention comprised a complete metal frame made in one casting patented at Boston, 17th December 1825; Conrad Mayer of Philadelphia who in 1832 modified this iron framing abolishing the bars; and Jonas Chickering of Boston, who in 1843 patented a frame combining a minimum of bulk with a maximum of strength.

The invention of “overstringing,” or carrying the bass strings obliquely across the treble strings, and thus getting a greater length, is difficult to trace to its author. It must not be forgotten that clavichords were sometimes overstrung, and this may have suggested the practice to pianoforte manufacturers. But in a Philadelphia patent dated 24th May 1831 Alpheus Babcock claims originality for “cross stringing pianofortes.” Unfortunately the original record was destroyed by fire in 1836. But if by this term he meant overstringing he conceived both the principles that characterise the modern American pianoforte. It was not till a year later that

the idea was mooted by a European manufacturer—Theobald Boehm, of flute fame. One of the most eminent historians of the pianoforte, Mr. A. J. Hipkins, regards American pianoforte manufacture as having reached its flood-mark in the instrument exhibited by Henry Engelhard Steinway at the New York Academy of Music on 8th February 1859.

The earliest known printed notice of a public performance on the piano is in the form of a play bill issued by Covent Garden theatre, London, dated 16th May 1767. This announces that "Miss Brickler will sing a favourite song from Judith, accompanied by Mr. Dibdin on a new instrument called Piano Forte." The first use of it as a solo instrument appears to have been a performance by J. C. Bach at the Thatched House on 2nd June 1768. A few years later, in 1771, it was introduced at Drury Lane. Its triumph may be considered as completed in 1796 when it superseded the harpsichord in that very conservative institution, the British King's Band.

The full effect of a metal and over-strung frame—work was probably not dreamed of by a single one of those between whom the credit of these inventions is divided. It is "iron entering into the soul" of the piano which has transformed it from the tinkling instrument known to Mozart and Haydn into what has aptly been called the "chamber orchestra" of to-day. The increase in power can perhaps best be realized from a comparison of the tension on the strings of old and modern instruments. When iron was first introduced the tension was 10 tons; a quarter of a century ago it was 16 tons; now, on a "concert grand" it is 32 tons! One of these larger instruments passes in the process of manufacture through some eighty pairs of hands; and contains

10,700 pieces of wood, metal, and felt. The increase in the number of pianos made is not less remarkable than their increase in power. In a little under a century, 1797—1889, one firm alone, Messrs. Pleyel, Wolff and Co. made over 100,000 pianos. And in a little over a century, 1780—1894, the premier British firm, Messrs. Broadwood and another British firm, Messrs. Collard and Collard, have each made nearly double the number 195,000! The keys of the former alone if placed end to end would extend 3,987 miles, or further than from London to Chicago! The wire in them would go upwards of thirteen times round the world; the sounding-boards used in them would cover an area of 3,130,722 square feet! And assuming each has been used one hour each week day for five years, and three pieces gone through in that time then 175,968 pieces have been played on Broadwood pianos alone! Thus the life-story of the piano reaches back, through its ancestors, to pre-historic times and encircles the globe. And the two hundred years during which it has existed as we know it divides into three periods; fifty years during which it lay dormant; fifty years of rivalry with its predecessors, especially the harpsichord, and a hundred years during which its history has been a romance—not least because, after growing out of recognition it has retraced its steps towards the rising of the sun.

CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS.

Art. V.—ARECA CATECHU. LINN.

THIS slender graceful Palm, called by the natives “Gua” and also “Supari,” is an object of extensive culture in the portions of the Khulna tract of the Sundarbans which have been longest under cultivation. It may be seen in all parts of the Bagherhat Sub-division and especially in the vicinity of Morrellgunge, where it flourishes in a remarkable degree, and also throughout the Backergunge tract of the Sundarbans where it thrives luxuriantly and in places fringes the banks of the large streams. It is scarce in the Sundarbans of the 24-Parganas district where it fails to grow owing, it is said, to the extreme saline nature of the soil.

In appearance the Areca palm is perhaps the most elegant of the whole species of palms and it has been observed that “a grove of Betel palms, with their slender, cylindrical stems peering fifty or sixty feet upward, waving their green plumes and fragrant flowers, presents a scene of sylvan beauty rarely to be excelled under our tropical sky.”

The tree yields the betel nut of commerce. The nut has a thin brown rind and in size is intermediate between walnut and hazel nut. It is hard and when young is, in conjunction with other things, prescribed in decoctions, in dysentery and bowel complaints. Betel nut is much relished by the Indians, being chewed with the leaf of the Piper betel. Its general substance is of a faint oily grey colour, thickly marked with curly streaks of brownish red. Green nuts are intoxicating.

The nut is believed to sweeten the breath, strengthen the stomach and preserve the teeth. When chewed with *pān* (the Piper betel) and lime, it gives the

saliva a red colour which it also imparts to the lips and gums. By some, betel nuts are considered to have tonic properties. Roasted and pulverized they make an excellent charcoal powder for the teeth.

It is usual at entertainments and social gatherings of Indians to distribute among the guests betel nuts covered with silver or gold leaf, and it is considered a grave insult when an offering of this sort is refused. At marriages, *shradh* and anna-prasan and other ceremonies, betel nuts, either 4, 8, 16 or 20 in number, covered with gold or silver leaf are sent out to guests along with the invitations. The number of betel nuts thus presented denotes the social standing of the guest.

The tree produces fruit from the age of five to its twenty-fifth year. It begins to blossom in April and May and the nuts are fit to be gathered in the months of August and September. They become fully ripe in the months of October and November. A tree will bear annually on an average from 50 to 60 nuts.

The fruit ripens only once during the year. The nuts vary in size, though quality depends solely upon the amount of stringent matter they contain, a point which is ascertained by cutting them. If the white or medullary portion, which intersects the red or astringent part, be small with bluish tinge, and the astringent part be very red, the nut is considered of good quality; but when the medullary portion is in a large quantity, the nut is considered more mature without much astringency and is not esteemed valuable.

Like most of the Palm tribe the trunk of the tree is used for ordinary building purposes and is most useful for house posts.

The spathe, called by the natives "Chumari" and sometimes also "Dega," which stretches over the

blossoms of the tree, is a fibrous substance with which the Hindus make vessels for holding water for "puja" (religious ceremonies). The inner covering of the spathe is called "phersha" and also "phethra" in Khulna, and "Khui" in the Noakhali district. It is soft, velvety, transparent and white, and so fine that it can be written upon with ink; but it is not used for this purpose. In the Noakhali district the "khui" is much sought after by the Mughls who come from Burma for it. They use it for covering cheroots.

Betel nut trees are planted on high land with a trench dug all around the selected plot. The earth from the trench is used for making an embankment which serves as a wall for the protection of the seedlings from injury by cattle and goats.

Seedlings are obtained from a nursery which is generally close to the homestead. Seeds are sown in the month of February and germinate in about three or four months. They become high enough in a year to be transplanted and are then lifted and placed on land which is previously highly manured with dry cowdung or oil cake and made ready. The young plants are put down here one after another at a distance of 8, 4 or 2 cubits apart from each other and in straight lines.

The number of trees usually found on a bigha of land of 80 cubits square is 350. No account is kept of the outturn of nuts from a bigha of land; but one of the wise saws of these parts regarding this is:—

"Ata chouka dua

Katha prati hazar gua,"

which being interpreted means:—

"Plant the first line of trees at a distance of eight cubits from each other; the second line at a distance of four cubits from each other; and the third line at a

distance of two cubits from each other; the outturn of nuts from a cotta of land will then be 1,000."

Therefore the outturn from a bigha would be 20,000 nuts.

The average number of trees on a bigha of land in the Khulna tract of the Sundarbans has been found to be 350. Taking the outturn at 55 per tree, the number of nuts per bigha would be 19,250, which proves the proverb to be practically correct.

Much damage is done, particularly to young trees, by a caterpillar called "Kora-poka" which bores through the top of the trees and also cuts the tender leaves. The loss of trees from this cause is sometimes great. No method for destroying this insect or diminishing its numbers has yet been discovered.

The price of betel nuts fluctuates in the months of October and November according to the harvest. The rate at which nuts are sold varies from two annas to five annas per coori. Taking the rate to be at two annas per coori, the value of nuts from a bigha of land would be Rs. 10-6.

Green nuts are sold in markets and the cost of drying is thus avoided. The cost of bringing to the market may be estimated thus:—

	Rs. A. P.		
Cost of plucking from trees on a bigha of land	1	0	6
Rent of land	...	...	...
Cost of carriage to market	...	...	...
	<hr/>		
Total	...	3	3 0
	<hr/>		

Deducting Rs. 3-3 from Rs. 10-6 leaves Rs. 7-3 which are approximately the profits from a bigha of betel nut garden land.

Ripe betel nuts are dried in the sun on matting for 18 or 20 days. The outer covering is then removed and the dried nuts are sold in the markets.

Another method of preparing betel nuts is to soak the ripe nuts for about a month in water. The outer covering, as soon as sufficiently soft and swollen, is easily removed. The nut is then called "Maja Supari" and is considered very palatable.

In some places the water, which is red with astringent matter and having a very unpleasant odour, instead of being thrown away, is mixed with lime and mortar and used in building operations. It is believed that betel nut water has the effect of strengthening and uniting the materials especially in connection with the roofs of houses.

Betel nuts are also half dried and stored without removal of their outer covering. They are supposed to keep best in this condition.

Betel nuts are counted thus :—

11 nuts	...	...	One Gha
21 Ghas	...	...	One Coori
5 Cooris	...	...	One Saṛ (100)
10 Saos	...	...	One Hazar (1,000)

There is a large trade in betel nut in the Khulna district, the principal markets being Morrellgunge, Bagherhat, Naobanki and Khulna.

The exports by rail alone to Calcutta, when nuts are sent to Burma and other places, is steadily increasing, and there is also a very large export by boat, but the figures cannot be ascertained.

NEW BOOKS.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF GRISH CHUNDER GHOSE.

Edited by his grandson, Manmathanath Ghosh, M.A. Calcutta :
Indian Daily News Press. 1912. Royal 8vo. Rs. 5.

IN his Preface to *The Life of Grish Chunder Ghose*, which was published only last year, the editor promised to present the public with a selection from the writings of that journalist. The promise has now been redeemed, the result being the volume of seven-hundred pages before us.

One cannot but admire the editor's pious and praiseworthy efforts to resuscitate the memory of his grandfather. For it must be confessed that Grish Chunder Ghose has been well nigh forgotten by his countrymen—although most undeservedly so, as we are the first to admit. His fame as a journalist has been completely overshadowed by that of Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee, who died eight years before him, and of Kristo Das Pal, who flourished in after years, to mention two Bengalis. But judged by his literary output—and we add this in all sincerity—Grish Chunder appears to have been able to hold his own against either of those named above.

Of the excellent quality of the work contained in these "Selections" there can scarcely be two opinions. The extracts are in most cases taken from the *Hindoo Patriot* and the *Bengalee*, of both of which Grish Chunder Ghose is described as the founder and first editor, and range from 1854 to 1869. There are, however, some gaps to be accounted for by the fact that the editor was unable to lay his hands on the files of the *Bengalee* for the greater part of the 'sixties. But this is less to be regretted perhaps when the length of the present "Selections" is considered. The editor does not, however, despair of being able to favour the public with a second series at some future date.

The subjects treated of are more or less varied and interesting, although it must needs follow that many of the events

referred to, with the arguments they aroused at the time, have long since belonged to the domain of ancient history. The last extract necessarily comes down no further than the year of the writer's death (1869), but that was forty-three years ago. Hence the articles reproduced and the opinions they express can be of little practical value in moulding the thought of aspiring journalists at the present day. *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.*

We may here append a few headlines to show the variety of the subjects embraced and the versatility of the writer:—
 "The Mutiny and the Educated Natives;" "The Paris Exhibition;" "The Gagging Order;" "The Shoe Question again;" "The Jorasanko Theatre;" "Annexation of Oude;" "Tax for Gas Light;" "The Metropolis and its Safety;" "How Volunteers guard;" "The Trial of the Rev. Mr. Long;" "Death of Prince Albert;" "The Durbar at Agra;" "Thomas Carlyle and Governor Eyre;" "The Famine Commission;" "The Religion of the Educated Bengalee."

Grish Chunder's articles display not only vigour, but occasionally gleams of humour—a quality for which few Europeans are disposed to give Indians credit. This is also shown in his letters, some of which were included in his *Life*.

For extracts illustrative of the writer's style we select—almost at random, for selection becomes no easy matter—the two following:—

RAMDOOLAL DEY, THE BENGALÉE MILLIONAIRE.

* * * *

The first onslaught of the disease which finally extinguished so valuable a life, was made when Ramdoolal was in his 69th year. Paralysis overtook him suddenly whilst he was writing.
 * * * * By the advice of the native physicians, he was removed in state to the banks of the Ganges. But Ramdoolal was not wholly insensible. He held the keys of his iron safes in his hand and when his son-in-law, Radha Kissen, offered to take them, he clutched them more firmly, awaiting the approach of his sons, Ashootosh and Promothonath, into whose hands only he abandoned them. In the meantime Messrs. Clarke and

Melville, accompanied by Dr. Nicholson arrived at the bed-side of the dying millionaire. After having attentively examined the case, the Doctor drew from his pocket a small phial from which he let fall a single drop of its contents on the neck of Ramdoolal. The effect was miraculous. A large blister immediately formed and as immediately burst. The man who only a moment before was to all appearance dying, now sat bolt upright. He had regained his voice and had become thoroughly restored to health. The fame of this cure gave Dr. Nicholson a hold upon the esteem and the reverence of the Hindoo community which lasted throughout the long life of that eminent physician.

But though Ramdoolal was thus rescued from the jaws of death, his constitution became completely shattered. In two years he was again carried to the banks of the Ganges to die ; and again his friends rejoiced in his recovery. At last on the 1st April 1825, after having completed his 73rd year, this good and benevolent Hindoo—this child not merely of fortune but of virtue, this father of the poor and friend of the suffering, amidst the lamentations of all classes of men, gave up his soul to heaven. Two sons, Ashootosh Deb and Promothonath Deb, a grandson then quite an infant Grish Chundra Deb, and five daughters, were left to perform Ramdoolal's *shradh* or funeral obsequies. The Brahmin and the beggar overflowed in Calcutta at this solemn ceremony. To the former, gold and carriages and palanqueens were given away with princely munificence ; to the latter upwards of three lacs of rupees were distributed. On no one was less than a rupee bestowed, and if a beggar woman was found to be *enciente*, a rupee was given to her and another to the child in her womb. Did a beggar bring a bird in his hand, the bird obtained its alms equally with its master. The entire expense of this *shradh* amounted to nearly five lacs of rupees.

THE PANIC AT CALCUTTA.

(Reprinted from the "*Hindoo Patriot*," May 28th, 1857.)

Never since the day on which Serajoodowlah sent his Pathans into Calcutta to wrest the factory from the East

India Company and put every white man to the sword or in cords, was Calcutta so beside itself with terror as at the present moment. The English have always been noted for looking danger steadily in the face. But at times an excess of caution assumes a rather ridiculous turn. The state of feeling now exhibited by the notabilities of Chowringhee and their humbler satellites in Cossitollah is very much akin to that which drew the laughter of the world on the Aldermen of London and their militia when Boney was a stalking-horse in the imagination of the British people. Within the last fortnight, the gunsmiths have been deluged with custom, and their fortunes have been as effectually made as if the dreaded loot of Calcutta had been poured into their laps. Indeed guns, pistols, and rifles have turned up to famine prices, and many a portly citizen who never before in all his life was guilty of the least insight into the mechanism of these murderous weapons, may now be daily observed to look as fierce as a hussar, screw up his mouth, twinge his eyes, and pull away at the trigger till he grew red in the face and the smart crack of the cap "warranted not to miss fire, nor fly" told the flattering tale of his invincibility. Some have achieved the feat of offering for the militia, others have got themselves sworn in as special constables—a feint with many to throw off the responsibility of defending their wives and their daughters and run off on the smallest alarm to a place where numbers would at least lessen the chances of their being taken off like game. Among the classes that have emptied Manton and Rodda of their stock in trade there is one whose known heroism affords a better guarantee of the safety of the Calcutta lieges than Lord Canning's protestations, we refer to the class the members of which swore, when a native was appointed magistrate in Calcutta, that there were six hundred youths amongst them who would go to all manner of hardihood in order to resist the jurisdiction of the new functionary * * * * But ridicule apart, we seriously ask, is Calcutta really in danger? If two thousand sepoys can loot the metropolis of British India, put every citizen to the sword and burn and pillage without let or hindrance, then the metropolis of British India has no business to encroach upon the map of the country and the Bay of Bengal would perform a grateful service by washing away the doomed city into the Indian Ocean. The native soldiery in Bengal have no alternative but to remain still in their places. It is a position forced upon them by the population of these districts. As the soldiers of Government they are an object of dread to those with whom they are brought into contact. It is not the power of the sepoys in the abstract, however, that is respected—but the

power of the British Government which the sepoys represent. Let the distinction be withdrawn and the vengeance of the state proclaimed against its native soldiery, the life of a sepoy in Bengal will not be worth a second's purchase. The men of the Upper Provinces can never obtain the sympathy of our people. On the contrary, every door will be closed and every available musket in the country will be found against them. Want of supplies, an inveterate pursuit, and determined hostility will annihilate the temerarious men who may attempt to parade through these provinces in defiance of constituted authority. The sepoys are fully aware of this state of things, and if they have the faintest love for existence they will not attempt in Bengal the game which their comrades have been playing at Delhi. We can guarantee peace and protection to this part of the country, and as to Calcutta being sacked, we give it as our firm unwavering opinion that such a contingency is not likely to precede the millenium. Let those, therefore, who have purchased guns and pistols and improvised themselves into 'fighting allies,' in the turning of an eye, dismiss those dreadful instruments before they have shattered either their own hands or their neighbours' heads—events not unlikely to occur with heroes who never till the present emergency witnessed a fire-arm. If they live to see a millenium, they may live to cover themselves with glory as the defenders of Cossitollah.

• The editing—which, although obviously a labour of love, must have been no unconsiderable task—has on the whole been carefully done. The rather formidable list of *errata* may perhaps be disposed of by the reflection that the errors corrected extend over a large number of pages. There still remain a few which appear to have escaped the eagle eye of the youthful editor. For example (in the Contents) the definite article should be omitted in "the Mookerjee's Magazine;" again, in the editorial note on page 104—"the prize was carried by a European," "off" should follow "carried." The name of Captain Marryat, the sea-novelist, has been incorrectly spelt at page 124. "Chamber's Journal" should be "Chambers's Journal."

The book is clearly printed, partly at the "Valmiki" Press and partly at that of the "Indian Daily News," and, like its predecessor, is neatly bound in dark green cloth.

Notwithstanding its price which may strike some as being comparatively high, we trust, in conclusion, these writings of Grish Chunder Ghose will help to preserve his memory as that of a pioneer of the Anglo-Bengali Press, a talented publicist and a good and gifted man.

A HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS. By James Grant-Duff, with copious notes. 3 vols. R. Cambray and Co., Calcutta, 1912. 8vo. Price Rs. 16.

HISTORY, it is said, presents the pleasantest features of Poetry and Fiction,—the majesty of the epic, the moving accidents of the drama and the surprises and moral of the romance. There are some histories that will always hold their own against similar works dealing with the particular periods to which they relate. The history of no other country reads so much like a romance as that of India. Grant-Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, having stood the test of well-nigh ninety years, stands foremost among works dealing with that particular period of Indian history. References to this warlike race are to be found in the well-known works of Elphinstone, Mill, Orme and Wilks. Books dealing more particularly with them have been written by Blacker, Broughton, Thorp, Tone, Waring, Lord Wellesley and others. But all these writers laboured more or less under difficulties for want of sufficient materials. The main reason of the superiority of Grant-Duff's to other histories of the Mahrattas is that the author enjoyed special facilities for writing such a work and availed himself of them to the utmost. Among these people he had lived for many years and had come fully to understand their national characteristics. The sources of information on which his work is based are, as we learn from his Preface, many and varied and were hitherto inaccessible to the public. On the defeat of Peshwa Baji Rao, Captain Duff came into official possession of the state papers at Poona as well as the public and secret correspondence of the Peshwas. The records of the Satara Government subsequently fell under his immediate

charge, and many original papers of importance, unknown even to the Peshwa, were confided to him by the Raja. He had access to the records of Bombay and Surat, while the Viceroy of Goa furnished him with whatever extracts he required from the records of the Portuguese Government. Then, the Court of Directors of the East India Company allowed him access to the records at the India Office. He also acquired a mass of information from various valuable manuscripts, Persian and Mahratta, which were either presented to him by private individuals, or which he himself purchased. The value of Duff's *History* is also proved by the fact that, four years after its publication in 1826, it was translated into Mahratti by Captain (afterwards General Sir David) Capon. As a historian, Duff is graphic and, what is more, truthful and strictly impartial. Hence his work has continued to elicit praise on all sides. Among other authorities, men so widely differing from each other as, for example, Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Richard Temple, Meredith Townsend and Justice Ranade, agree in speaking of it in the highest terms. The work opens with certain preliminary observations on the geography, religion, learning, early history and institutions of the Mahratta country. The history of the Mahrattas may be said to begin with the irruption of the Mohamedans into the Deccan early in the eleventh century when they crossed the Nerbuda under Ala-ud-din Khilji, traversed Khandesh, besieged the celebrated fort of Deogarh, now Daulatabad, and finally seated their chief upon the throne of Delhi. There sprang up in the Deccan five independent states which were soon reduced to the three kingdoms of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda. The ruler of Ahmednagar, Burhan Nizam Shah by name, conferred upon a Brahmin the office of Peshwa or Prime Minister. This title subsequently came to be assumed by the head of the Mahratta Confederacy. This circumstance to a large extent accounts for the influence acquired by Brahmins in the government of those states. In the middle of the seventeenth century there flourished the celebrated Sivaji, the national hero of the Mahrattas. We are presented with a full account of his valorous exploits. The

various political and other institutions organised by him, which were afterwards adopted by every Mahratta state, are succinctly detailed. During the eighty years' war of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, with a view to the conquest of Southern India (1627-1707) the Mughal armies from the north and the independent Mohamedan kingdoms of the south gradually exterminated each other. Being foreigners, they had to recruit their exhausted forces from outside. The Hindu Confederacy drew its inexhaustible native levies from the wide tract known as Maharashtra, stretching from the Berars in Central India to near the south of the Bombay Presidency. Sivaji saw the strength of his position and from time to time aided the independent Musulman kingdoms of the Deccan against the Mughal avalanche from the north. Those kingdoms, with the help of the Mahrattas, long proved a match for the imperial troops. But no sooner were the Delhi armies driven back than the Mahrattas proceeded to despoil the independent Musulman kingdoms. On the other hand, the Delhi generals, when allied with the Mahrattas, could overpower the Mohamedan states. Thus, by a life of treachery, assassination and hard fighting, the astute Sivaji won for the Mahrattas the practical supremacy in Southern India. As a basis for his operations he made himself secure in a number of impregnable hill forts among the Western Ghauts. His troops consisted of Hindu spearmen mounted on hardy ponies. They were the peasant proprietors of Southern India and could be dispersed or promptly called together at the proper seasons of the agricultural year. Except at seed time or harvest, they were always at leisure for war. Sivaji had therefore the command of an unlimited body of men, without the expenses of a standing army. With these he swooped down upon his enemies, exacted tribute, or forced them to come to terms. He then paid off his soldiery by a part of the plunder and retreated with the lion's share to his hill forts. But, although he allowed his followers to plunder freely, cows, cultivators and women were sacred, and this very largely accounts for his popularity. The success of his arms and the consequent rise of the Mahrattas were, it would appear, due to the internal

dissensions in other states, and it was generally a part of Sivaji's policy to render everything as intricate as possible and to destroy records of rightful ownership and possession. As the armies overran the country their history became blended with that of every other state in India. In 1659 Sivaji lured the Bijapur general into an ambush, stabbed him at a friendly conference and exterminated his army. In 1662 Sivaji raided as far as the extreme north of the Bombay Presidency and sacked the imperial city of Surat. Two years later he assumed the title of king (Raja) with the royal prerogative of coining money in his own name. The year 1665 found him helping the Mughal armies against the independent Mussulman state of Bijapur. Next year he was induced to visit Delhi. Being coldly received by the Emperor Aurangzeb, and placed under restraint, he escaped to the south and raised the standard of revolt. In 1674 Sivaji enthroned himself with great pomp at Raigarh, weighing himself in a balance against gold and distributing the precious counterpoise among his Brahmins. After sending forth his hosts as far as the Karnatic in 1676, he died four years later. One can scarcely expect to meet with a fairer analysis of the character of the Mahratta ruler than that given by Captain Duff. The Mahrattas became better known in India than heretofore from the year 1750, when, on the death of Sahu, the nominal Raja of Satara, the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao seized the sovereign power by a treacherous artifice and fixed his capital at Poona. It is from this period that the records of Orme, Wilks and others contain an outline of the history of the Mahrattas who, through their increasing power and political influence, were made parties in the subsequent political convulsions of India. The year 1760 appears to have been the period when their power reached its zenith by the treaty with the Emperor, whereby the Mughal possessions in the Deccan were confined to an insulated space, and which promised to extend the authority of the Hindus over the vast empire where they had, for so many centuries, been a conquered people in their native land. Captain Duff remarks that "the extension of their sway carried no freedom even to Hindus, except freedom of opinion, and it rarely brought

protection, or, improved the habits and condition of the vanquished." From that period the affairs of the Mahrattas began to retrograde, and at the battle of Panipat, in 1761, their forces were almost entirely destroyed. In process of time they came into collision with the English and the hostilities that ensued gradually crippled the power of the Mahrattas. The work concludes with an account of the Third Mahratta War and the settlement of the Peshwa's territory, in 1818-19, under the administration of the Marquess of Hastings. A year or two later the Satara question continued to receive the attention of statesmen in England. The Peshwa Baji Rao remained a British pensioner at Bithur, near Cawnpore, on a magnificent allowance till his death, and, with the death of his adopted son, the infamous Nana Sahib, the last relic of the Peshwas disappeared from the eyes of men.

Regarding the author James Cunningham Grant Duff it may be mentioned that he was the eldest son of John Grant and Margaret Duff, was educated at Marischall College, Aberdeen, and, coming out to India at the age of seventeen, joined the Honourable East India Company's military service at Bombay in 1806. Next year he obtained an Ensigncy in the 1st Bombay Native Infantry (known as the "Grenadier Battalion"). In 1809 he took part in the storming of the fort of Mallia, in Katiawar. Two years later he became Adjutant and Interpreter of his regiment and was subsequently appointed Assistant to Mountstuart Elphinstone, the then Resident at Poona, who entertained a high opinion of him. He was promoted to the rank of Captain and served against Peshwa Baji Rao when the latter was dethroned in 1818. He then became Resident at Satara and administered the State in the name of the Raja till 1822 and made treaties with the jaghirdars. After five years he retired to Scotland and brought out the *History of the Mahrattas* in 1826. On succeeding to landed states he took the additional names of Duff and Cunningham, and died in 1858, aged sixty-nine years. His son, the late Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff was Governor of Madras from 1881 to 1886.

Duff's *History*, originally published in 1826, has been thrice reprinted (in 1863, 1873 and 1878), but owing to its having for some years past, run out of print copies have fetched high prices. The present reprint consists of three volumes tastefully bound in maroon cloth and is clearly printed (at the "Valmiki" Press) on good paper. A pleasing portrait of the author, never before published and now placed at the disposal of the publishers by a distinguished member of the Grant-Duff family, appears as a frontispiece to the first volume. The Index adds to the value and utility of the work and has been reprinted *in extenso* from the original edition. The present reprint, however, is not a page-for-page one, so far at any rate as the first volume is concerned. This is borne out by the fact that, in the Contents, the pagination of the original edition has been adhered to, but does not agree with that in the text. A noteworthy feature of the reprint is the notes specially prepared for this edition by Mr. B. A. Gupte Bahadur, a competent Mahratta scholar, and given in an Appendix at the end of each volume. They are classified, we are told, into personal, territorial and administrative. It is to be regretted, however, that the annotations are not numbered and contain no reference to the pages in the text to which they relate. The reprint contains but one plate (that of Raigarh), two others (those of Satara and of the Mausoleum of Ibrahim Adil Shahi at Bijapur) having been omitted in the volumes before us. Such is also the case with the two maps; that of Maharashtra will be missed by students; hence we are glad to learn that it is now to be supplied. The bibliography of works on Mahratta history cannot fail to be useful. Duff's *History* has, for some years past, been recommended as a book to be consulted by M. A. students of the Calcutta University. On them Messrs. Cambray and Co., by issuing this reprint at a moderate price, have conferred a boon. Dedicated to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, this reprint has, we learn, been accorded the patronage of Government. We wish the publishers every success in their enterprise. The reading public should welcome this old friend in a new garb and feel grateful in consequence to Messrs. Cambray and Co.

THE CHARWOMAN'S DAUGHTER—By James Stephens. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd.)

is a delightfully written chronicle of a young girl, the daughter of as lovable and independent an Irishwoman as ever went out charring for one and six in her working day, and planned royal and extravagant romances for herself and her daughter in her dreaming nights.

The writing of the book has very evidently been a labour of love to the author; the intimate details of the lives of Mrs. Makebelieve, the charwoman, and of Mary, her daughter, are pictured with so exquisitely sympathetic a pen, the characters are so ably and humanly drawn, the magic power of dreams to glorify a life on one and sixpence a day so tenderly imagined. The personality of the book centres in the two women, there are men who look with eyes of favour on Mary Makebelieve, but they are vague and unimportant factors in the whole. Of Mrs. Makebelieve it is written she "could not remain for any length of time in people's employment without being troubled by the fact that these folk had houses of their own and were actually employing her in a menial capacity. She sometimes looked at their black silk aprons in a way which they never failed to observe with anger, and on their attempting to put her in her proper place, she would discuss their appearance and morals with such power that they at once dismissed her from their employment and incited their husbands to assault her." This may appear rather characteristic of charwomen who are not a delight—nevertheless a character to be loved is Mrs. Makebelieve and Mary—Mary is a flower of girlhood. Of her Mr. Stephen writes:—"Her head was shaped very tenderly and softly; it was so small that when her hair was twisted up it seemed much too delicate to bear so great a burden. Her eyes were grey, limpidly tender and shy, drooping under weighty lids so that they seldom seemed more than half open. . . . She had a small white face, very like her mother's in some ways and at some angles, but the tight beak which was her mother's nose was absent in Mary; her nose withdrew timidly in the centre and only snatched a hurried courage to become visible at the

tip. Her mother loved it because it was so little, and had tried so hard not to be a nose at all. Mary Makebelieve used to lift her timidly curious eye and smile in deprecation of her nasal shortcomings, and then her mother would kiss the dejected button and vow it was the dearest, loveliest bit of a nose that had ever been seen.

"Big noses suit some people," said Mrs. Makebelieve, "but they do not suit others and one would not suit you dearie. They go well with black-haired people and very tall people, military gentlemen, judges and apothecaries, but small, fair folk cannot support great noses. I like my own nose," she continued. "At school, when I was a little girl, the other girls used to laugh at my nose but I always liked it, and after a time other people came to like it too."

The deliberate, delicate charm of the writing cannot be well instanced in short extracts but is very apparent in the whole volume. And it is good to know that the dreams with which both Mary and her mother solaced their poverty bade fair all to come true in the end. But there is no real end to "The Charwoman's Daughter," rather is there some prospect that Mr. Stephens at a later day may continue his history of the Makebelieves to the gain and pleasure of his readers.

"THE CROCK OF GOLD."—By James Stephens. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd.)

THE "Crock of Gold" is an enchanted story in which gnomes and fairies play a most reasonable and happy part and mortals, to some extent, attain the wisdom of the fairy peoples. No short review could even remotely shadow the fascination and poetry of Mr. Stephens' latest book or could do justice to the wisdom and the wonder of it. It gives entrance to a most strange and entrancing world of gods and elves; Pan with his Pipes is made manifest, the lonely god of love is proved the conqueror of Pan, who is but desire: sin is not sin as we would tabulate and explain it—but an essential part of life itself, and not by any means to be spitefully divided from that life.

The characters which should become dear comrades of the understanding lover of books are many. The Thin Woman of Inis Magrath, with her fourteen hundred curses, and her comprehensive malediction wherein policemen are exhibited naked before the blushes of Eternity, is a most admirable witch mother to Seumas and Brigid Beg, those children of the woods who understand the talk of birds and beasts and who, when first they discover sunlight, are afraid to stay in it too long for fear they may become cooked.

The story of the clerk in the jail is wonderful in its minute sincerity, that poor, stricken clerk who formed the D, when writing letters beginning "My dear Sir," with "Painful accurate slowness elaborating and thickening the up and down strokes, and being troubled when he had to leave that letter for the next one : he built the next letter by hair strokes, and, would start on the third with hatred."

Then there are the Leprecauns and half the fairy host of Ireland to make memorable the book and take us into a beautiful and strange world. Many notable passages might be quoted. In the contest for possession of Caitilin Murrachu between Pan and Love, the greater god speaks thus of men and women :—

"The desire of a man shall be Beauty, but he has fashioned a slave in his mind and has called it Virtue. The desire of a woman shall be Wisdom, but she has fashioned a beast in her blood and has called it courage, but the real virtue is courage, and the real courage is liberty and the real liberty is wisdom and wisdom is the son of Thought and Intuition, and his names also are Innocence and Adoration and Happiness."

* * * * *

And in a little time Caitilin Murrachu went with her companion across the brow of the hill, and she did not go with him because she had understood his words, nor because he was naked and unashamed, but only because his need of her was very great, and therefore she loved him, and stayed his feet in the way and was concerned lest he should stumble."

The charm of this book cannot be conveyed by the quotation of such isolated passages. It is a book to accept with thanksgiving and read with understanding. To the being who asks more of life than that it should be a mere material existence it will open doors into a spiritual world which yet is delightfully human; it will suggest ideals and fancies of a rare beauty, and, when its covers are closed, will long be appreciatively remembered.

THE HALO.—By Baroness Von Hutten. (Methuen and Co.)

THIS is a cheap edition, price one shilling, and those who missed this clever, trenchant story when originally published will do well to secure it now. The book concerns the impracticable love of Lady Bridget Mead and Victor Joyselle, genius of the violin, citizen of the world and formerly Norman peasant.

MIRAGE.—By E. Temple Thurston. (Methuen and Co.)

ANOTHER reprint worthy of note is *Mirage* by E. Temple Thurston (Messrs. Methuen and Co.). Though lacking something of the exquisite word-painting of *The Greatest Good in the World*, another of E. Temple Thurston's works, it has his familiar charm of tender philosophy and spiritual characterisation. But Temple Thurston is always sufficiently poignant and sad. His books should, of necessity, end happily ever after, whereas *Mirage* comes close to bitter heart break.

MRS. LANCELOT: A COMEDY OF ASSUMPTIONS.—By Maurice Hewlett. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd.)

THIS Comedy of Assumptions verges perilously near tragedy at times for it concerns primarily the obligation of a woman, married but not mated, to forego the love she learns too late for the sake of a man little worthy of the sacrifice. The character of Mrs. Lancelot, the woman who faces the temptation and triumphs in surrendering to it, is a delight—tender, passionate, a type of the true mate and perfect lover.

About her exquisite personality revolve the three men concerned—the lover, the husband and the man who loves her. The characters of the three are sharply contrasted and magnificently limned. It is one of Mr. Hewlett's great merits that his people develop with the years: they are not pigeon-holed and catalogued in the beginning remaining true to their definitions throughout three hundred pages and all experience. The characters in Mrs. Lancelot grow as the years pass, learn charity and understanding in the stress of life, suffer, and grow to discriminate the verities.

The Duke, the man who loves Mrs. Lancelot, is a rare character, iron-like, almost brutal save when Mr. Hewlett, with his own inimitable grace, reveals the weaknesses of a great man; the lover is a wild poet, intolerant of all sham, fiercely resentful of civilization as opposed to nature, a visionary, dowered with an overwhelming and passionate devotion for his love. The husband is the opposite—cold, calculating withal, tormented by a dumb love for his wife.

Mrs. Lancelot is altogether a fine book. Much of the dialogue is a delight and the whole volume is quick with the passion and great charm of the author, charged with high courage—a book which is an artistic triumph and of satisfying humanity. A less courageous author might well have made his *finale* more of a compromise to the prevailing conscience, but with Mr. Hewlett the gospel of love triumphant is sacrosanct and the volume closes in a scene of true artistry and power.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries for the two months, April and May 1912, compared with corresponding period of the years 1910-11.* Government of India.
- Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries for the three months, April to June 1912, compared with corresponding period of the years 1910-11.* Government of India.
- Accounts relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India for the month of August 1912 and the five months, 1st April to 31st August 1912, compared with corresponding period of the years 1910-11.* Government of India.
- Annual Returns of the Hospitals and Dispensaries in Bengal for the year 1911 with Notes.* Government of Bengal.
- Annual Report of the Punjab Veterinary College and of the Civil Veterinary Department, Punjab, for the years 1911-12.* Punjab Government.
- Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs for the year 1911.* Government of Bengal.
- Annual Statistical Returns and Short Notes on Vaccination in Bengal for the years 1911-12.* Government of Bengal.
- Final Report of the Third Regular Settlement of the Delhi District, 1906-10.* Punjab Government.
- Fiftieth Annual Report of the Government Cinchona Plantations and Factory in Bengal for the years 1911-12.* Government of Bengal.
- First Forecast of the Cotton Crop of Bengal, 1912-13.* Government of Bengal.

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